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Eastern Europe

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NOTE: Daily Report No. 250 will not be published on 26 December 1980 because of the holiday declared for U.S. Government employees that date by Executive Order.

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CSCE DELEGATES SUBMIT PROPOSALS BEFORE RECESS

Bulgarian Proposals

AU191719 Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Madrid, 19 Dec (BTA)--At the Madrid meeting Bulgaria made a number of proposals, independently or jointly with other socialist countries, on the main sections of the Final Act.

Among the documents Bulgaria is the author or co-author of, particularly important is the proposal made jointly with the GDR, according to which the principles of the Final Act are to be stipulated in the proper form in the international treaties and agreements to be concluded in the future by the signatory states.

According to the other proposals put forward together with the GDR and Czechoslovakia, the international pacts on human rights are to be ratified by those signatory states which have not yet done so.

In co-authorship or independently Bulgaria also put forward a number of proposals aiming at promoting the further development of trade and economic relations among the signatories. For instance, in the joint proposals by Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia on developing industrial production, a number of specific measures are laid down which would ensure more accomplished, complex forms of this kind of cooperation.

Bulgaria and the USSR have proposed to expand the practice of concluding long-term programs in the field of economic, industrial and scientific and technical cooperation.

Bulgaria is also the author of a proposal concerning the matters of economic and commercial information; and the Bulgaro-Hungarian proposal provides for proper cooperation measures in the financial, crediting, administrative and other fields.

The Bulgarian delegation also made some proposals on the third section of the Final Act. One of them provides for expanding the cooperation among the signatories in the study of problems related to the youth and the rising generation, with their training for life and their development in the conditions of peace and security. Another Bulgarian proposal in the same section underlines the great importance of the initiatives on remarkable dates in the history of the signatory state. The proposal also extends to initiatives in the field of culture, capable of promoting the mutual acquaintance and cohesion of nations.

More on Romanian Proposals

AU201514 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 20 Dec 80

["Romanian Proposals on the Application of the Helsinki Final Act"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Dec (AGERPRES)--During the last meeting of the first stage of the Madrid conference, Romania presented and released, as official documents of the reunion, suggestions that regarded her stand on the application of the various chapters of the Helsinki Final Act.

Within the working body that deals with the examination of the application of the Final Act principles and with the military aspects of the European security presented was Romania's proposal as to securing the right to work, education and culture, that presents Romania's view on the necessity of securing these fundamental human rights, the achievements Romania has scored in guaranteeing them on juridical and material planes.

Making an address in the working group that deals with the problems of the cultural collaboration in the field of education, information and individual contacts, the Romanian representative presented a proposal regarding the struggle against the propaganda of war, racism and fascism as well as the proposal regarding the promotion of personal contacts among youth.

Presented was the Romanian proposal regarding the promotion, under various forms, of the contacts among youth, in view of better understanding and of strengthening confidence and the relations of friendship among peoples, the fact being stressed that this initiative reflected the humanitarian outlook of Romania in the field of educating the young generation, of preparing it for a peaceful, happy future.

Within another group, the one dealing with the problems of cooperation in economic, scientific, technical fields and in environmental protection, presented were a series of Romanian concrete proposals aiming at expanding and diversifying the collaboration among the 35 states in such major domains as industry, agriculture, science, technology and others.

Hungary on Security

LD211012 Budapest MTI in English 1724 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Madrid, 19 Dec (MTI)--Istvan Foldesi member of the Hungarian delegation, addressed the working committee of the Madrid meeting dealing with the military questions of European security on Friday. The proposals submitted in the theme of the military detente and disarmament conference proved that the peoples and governments of Europe are interested in disarmament and the reduction of military confrontation--he said among other things. Hungary warmly greets and supports the Polish proposal reflecting the standpoint of the Warsaw treaty.

The solution acceptable to everyone has to take into consideration the security interests of the participants. We cannot make the settlement of this question, so very important for Europe, depend on any sort of political change or the problems of other areas--stated the Hungarian delegate.

CSCE MEMBERS EVALUATE MADRID MEETING PROGRESS

GDR Envoy Comments

LD200023 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1951 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Madrid, 19 Dec (ADN)--The Madrid meeting of the 35 signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act ended the first phase of its deliberations with a plenum meeting on Friday.

At the meeting, Ambassador Peter Steglich, representative of the GDR, emphasized that it was a positive sign that during the past days the explanations of the proposals submitted by the member states had been in the foreground. Thus a new stage of the conference had begun. The political will of all members was aimed at achieving results which serve the consolidation of peace, detente and the expansion of a truly trusting cooperation. The Final Act of Helsinki will have to form the framework for these proposals. It remains the long-term program for the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social orders.

Ambassador Steglich welcomed the fact that during the past days numerous member states had expressed themselves in a concrete manner on problems of military detente, above all the reduction of military confrontation and disarmament. On behalf of the GDR delegation he once again supported the proposal made by the People's Republic of Poland for the convening of an all-European conference on military detente and disarmament.

The GDR spokesman underlined that the proposals made so far by the socialist corresponded to their willingness to contribute in the future towards the realization of the Final Act as a whole. The proposals submitted by the GDR delegation are also aimed at that objective. Together with the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the GDR suggested that all member states include the ten principles of the Final Act in the bilateral or multilateral treaties they have concluded with each other. The GDR was co-author of a proposal to appeal in the final document of the Madrid meeting to all CSCE member states to join the international human rights convention if they had not done so.

Ambassador Steglich pointed out that the GDR had ratified all-important international conventions in the human rights area. Apart from the conventions of 1966 this also applied to those relating to the prevention and punishment of genocide, the political rights of women, the removal of all forms of racial discrimination and the struggle against the punishment of apartheid crimes.

Ambassador Steglich further explained proposals presented by the GDR. He referred to the initiative, taken jointly with the USSR delegation, pointing out in the final Madrid document the great responsibility of the mass media and journalists for the dissemination and exchange of news in the interest of peace, international understanding and the cultural enrichment of the individual.

The Madrid meeting is to resume its work on 27 January 1981.

Prague: 'Sober Optimism'

LD211035 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Today was the last day of the first stage of the Madrid meeting of the representatives of the countries that had signed the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Antonin Kostka, an editor, has written the following commentary on the subject:

The close of the first stage was mostly marked by a sober optimism. Despite the fact that during the past days the deliberations at the conference were steadily businesslike and hardworking, the hard-hitting and slanderous speeches by American and other representatives are still far too fresh in one's memory for it be be reasonable to succumb to excessive optimism.

On the other hand, however, one cannot ignore the fact that when the meeting began, speaking literally and graphically, at the eleventh hour, even the agenda had not been agreed on during the 2 months of preliminary talks; then the first stage of the conference showed not merely a valuable exchange of views and a whole number of initiatives and proposals, but it ended with agreement on the agenda for the second stage, to be reopened after the Christmas recess. This constitutes an unequivocal collapse of the American attempts to destroy the meeting. The fact is that the United States did not dare to assume openly responsibility for wrecking the meeting. At the same time it failed to find or provoke someone else to undertake such responsibility.

In a certain sense, its attempts to destroy the meeting had in fact an opposite effect. This is because what it called the Belgrade syndrome manifested itself again, this is the self-same tiredness and revulsion at the fraudulent militancy of the inveterate negativism of the United States, as had been manifested at the previous meeting.

It has become more and more apparent that the United States did not change anything and that by falsely constructed arguments it did not succeed at all in changing the fact that at forums like the Helsinki one--and after it the Belgrade and Madrid ones--whatever is able to contribute realistically toward the lessening of a military confrontation, strengthening confidence among nations and toward the development of cooperation among them is and will remain the main thing.

For this reason a great deal of concern was manifested during the exchanges of views, concern at the fate of detente. Face to face with the persistent and unqualified endeavor of the socialist countries to achieve understanding and practical intensification of the process of relaxation, an ever growing number of other delegations began to work with all seriousness toward the implementation of the joint obligation contained in the Final Act, that is, to work out and adopt effective measures to lessen military confrontation and to bring about disarmament--that is, measures which are to strengthen and chiefly to complement political relaxation in Europe with military relaxation, and thus to increase the degree of security of the participating states. This was manifested most markedly in the fact that the very issue of convening a conference on military relaxation and disarmament in Europe ranked amongst those in which the fundamental stands of various countries were, at the moment in any case, most similar.

The most thoroughly thought out proposal on this issue was submitted by the Polish delegation. It was fully endorsed by all member countries of the Warsaw Pact organization. France and a group of nonaligned countries too submitted their own proposals on the same issue, proposals which although differing in the ways in which they would be put into practice as well as in their content, are nonetheless a confirmation of the fact how such a conference is so urgently needed. The United States alone has failed so far to submit any constructive proposal which might contribute to the realization of the Final Act, and with a single-minded pig-headedness which is already beginning to bore, it merely adhered to questions and stands out of which it might gain propaganda capital or which might contain a promise of the possible aggravation of the confrontation of views. This line--and this ranks amongst the principal results of the deliberations to date--was beginning to become isolated, an isolation that was growing at the same time as the Western countries as well as their American allies were beginning to realize that on the issues of detente and cooperation American and European interests were diverging sensitively.

This realization will undoubtedly contribute to a greater degree of realism in the future talks. It is on this very premise that a sober optimism rests, optimism which brought the first stage of the Madrid meeting to a close.

SFRY Delegate Comments

LD212146 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1644 GMT 21 Dec 80

[Text] Madrid, 21 Dec (TANJUG)--"The first part of the meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was satisfactory in spite of weaknesses which emerged", stated to TANJUG the Yugoslav delegation head, Ambassador Miroslav Zotovic.

The session, according to him, "reflected all contradictions in Europe and in the world. Therefore, no period of activity was spared from conflicts, above all between the big powers, then bloc ones, and even beyond them ideological ones. [sentence as received] In spite of everything, it has turned out that Europe has no alternative to the CSCE".

Zotovic especially pointed to the deteriorated international situation in which the (?debate) was held, which deteriorated even in the course of the meeting. The events in Poland were in the background of the meeting, although nobody directly raised this question, which has its significance.

Zotovic pointed out that almost all countries have already declared themselves, in this or that form, for convening of this conference on disarmament in Europe. The U.S. because of the change of the administration, and probably for other reasons too, are among the countries which were more restrained regarding this question, he added.

In "the third basket" fierce debate was frequently held, and very sharp words were used, but many facts on a significant progress made in this field were set forth. A series of useful new ideas and proposals were heard about the promotion of contacts among people, uniting of families, easier circulation of information, better working conditions for journalists and the like, Ambassador Zotovic considers.

"Problems of the Mediterranean were given a relatively little space in this phase of the conference," he said. "Resistance was offered to serious consideration of questions in this strategic region burdened with crises and confrontation between the big powers."

"Yugoslavia made a great effort, together with Cyprus, Malta and some other countries, for the Mediterranean dimension, especially in the field of security, to be considered in Madrid as much as possible", Zotovic said.

"In this phase we successfully cooperated with all delegations", the Yugoslav representative emphasized. "The basic activity of our delegation developed within the group of neutral and non-aligned countries with which certain significant joint actions were realized".

In conclusion, the Yugoslav delegation head stated that he expects a difficult next phase, since it is the phase of negotiations. It should be expected that new measures, of major or minor importance, be adopted, but which on the whole move the process of the CSCE forward.

BCP, GOVERNMENT AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT DECREE

AU211634 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Dec 80 pp 1, 2

[Decree issued by the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria "On Increasing Agricultural Production and Improving its Effectiveness" on 14 December in Sofia]

[Text] Consistent implementation of the party's agrarian policy has transformed our agricultural sector into a modern and highly developed branch of our economy. On the basis of steadily expanding and perfecting the material-technical base, concentrating and specializing production, as well as through accelerating the application of scientific technical progress, a stable growth of our agricultural production has been insured.

Along with the increase of agricultural production, a trend is outlined toward increasing expenditures for maintaining agricultural production. To a great extent, this is due to the increase in the prices of fuel, machines, fertilizers, insecticides and other industrial materials. The high maintenance costs of agricultural production at the present level of purchasing prices does not stimulate further increasing agricultural production, increasing its effectiveness or consistently applying the new economic approach and the new economic mechanism.

The great and constantly increasing role and significance of agriculture in implementing the party's general line for improving the people's living standard, and for better satisfying the people's needs for agricultural products and mass consumer goods, demand the constant perfection of economic conditions and incentives aimed at optimum utilization of the existing, tremendous production-technical potential, and ensuring an expanded and intensive reproduction in this exceptionally important economic branch.

In order to achieve a new upsurge in agricultural development and to increase its effectiveness, so that all resources and reserves existing in this sector may be fully utilized and prerequisites may be created to enable our people to obtain more agricultural products and more mass consumer goods in 1981, the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria have adopted the following decree:

1. The purchase prices of basic agricultural products are to be increased as follows: wheat--by 39.4 percent; corn for grain--by 4.2 percent; unshelled rice--by 12.5 percent; beans--by 4.2 percent; linen fiber--by 22.6 percent; oriental tobacco--by 2.4 percent; Virginia tobacco--by 16.1 percent; burley tobacco--by 13.4 percent; sugar beets--by 14.7 percent; early tomatoes--by 13.2 percent; medium-early and late tomatoes--by 23.3 percent; tomatoes for canning industry--by 10.7 percent; fresh tomatoes--by 13 percent; early potatoes--by 4.6 percent; autumn potatoes--by 33.3 percent; ripe onions--by 14.3 percent; cabbage--by 11.1 percent; apples--by 24.2 percent; plums--by 11.1 percent; peaches--by 28.3 percent; grapes for wine processing--by 3.7 percent; fresh grapes--by 14.3 percent; hops--by 135.5 percent; cow's milk--by 14.5 percent; beef--by 14.9 percent; sheep milk--by 30 percent; wool--63 percent; pork--by 7.2 percent; poultry--by 5.5 percent.

The new purchase prices must be applied to cattle-breeding products as of 1 January 1981, while the new prices for plant-growing products are to be applied as of the 1981 harvest. Prices must be uniform for all agricultural products purchased from farms of the public sector, auxiliary farms and private plots.

The necessary means for increasing the purchase prices, amounting to a total of 400 million leva, must be ensured by the state budget without changing retail prices, including goods produced from processing the aforementioned products.

2. The BCP Central Committee and the government think that by introducing the new purchase prices, the necessary economic prerequisites will be created for expanding definite and effective work for improving the initiative and incentives of the agricultural workers, of leading cadres and specialists as regards the increase of agricultural production through the comprehensive and large-scale utilization of all factors contributing to intensive growth--such as new technological methods and equipment, accelerated introduction of the top achievements of technical progress, and advanced experience on the basis of a new type of brigade labor organization.

We must enhance even more the strictness toward all departments and organizations which produce and supply production means and materials for the agricultural sector, and toward all those organizations which are engaged in buying and selling agricultural production and raw materials. We must also enhance their sense of responsibility, so that conditions may be established for the prompt increase of production and improving its effectiveness.

3. The State Planning Committee, the Main Administration on Prices, the Central Council of the Agro-Industrial Union and the Ministry of Finance are to adopt uniform purchase prices for agricultural products by 20 December 1980, as regards quality, seasons and periods. By 31 December 1980 they are expected to adopt the table of organization and the size of increases in uniform purchase prices for agricultural products purchased from agricultural organizations in mountainous and semimountainous areas. These increases are of a long-term character and must be adopted according to groups of agro-industrial complexes and other agricultural organizations on the basis of normative production costs and new purchase prices, concentrating mainly on basic cattle breeding and plant growing production characteristics of these geographic areas and important to the state balances.

4. In order to ensure a more correct settling of the incomes of agro-industrial complexes, the differentiated norms for entries into the budget for land cultivation must be eliminated, and as of 1 January 1981, normative entries into the budget for settling the total income of agricultural organizations must be established according to a table adopted by the Council of Ministers.

The financial means entering the budget from the normative entries aimed at settling the total income, must be calculated separately and must be used for allocating increases of the uniform purchase prices of agricultural production, as well as for financial aid to agro-industrial complexes and other agricultural organizations situated in mountainous and semimountainous areas; for purchasing seeds, fertilizers, fuel and insecticides; as well as for purchasing agricultural equipment, highly productive cattle, and so forth; and for the construction of animal sheds and other purposes, and improving arable land, pastures, durable crops, and so forth.

Financial aid is to be on the basis of normative production costs established in accordance with the national engineering projects set up for the respective areas.

An efficient production structure is to be established on the basis of the new purchase prices, price increases, financial aid and on the basis of a comprehensive application of the economic mechanism. An increase of production and the growing incomes of these economic organizations must be insured, and prerequisites for expanded reproduction are to be created.

5. An even more direct link is to be made, between the increasing personal incomes of those engaged in agricultural production and the growth of labor productivity and profitability. In this connection, as of 1 January 1981, a regulation of incomes for per capita consumption is to be introduced in the agro-industrial complexes and in other agricultural organizations, according to a table adopted by the Council of Ministers.

The maximum income for consumption, which can be calculated according to the schedule for establishment and distribution of the total income, must be determined on the basis of the average number of personnel and the average per capita income during the year that has elapsed, this income increasing or decreasing in accordance with the increase or decrease of labor productivity obtained, according to norms adopted by the Council of Ministers.

6. The system of property insurance for agricultural crops and for indemnities to agricultural organizations must be improved. Mutual relations between the state insurance company and agricultural organizations must be based on consistent economic principles in order to increase the interest and responsibility of both sides so that the damages caused may be reduced and compensated for to the greatest advantage of society and of the workers collectives. For this purpose, by the end of 1980, the regulations on property insurance of agricultural organizations must be amended and complemented by preserving the amount of obligatory insurance payments at the 1979 level, and by improving the conditions and tariffs for voluntary additional insurance of agricultural crops.

7. With a view to ensuring a more efficient use of financial resources, the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers consider it expedient that the turnover taxes for economic organizations within the system of the National Agro-Industrial Union should be entirely invested in the budget in the future. The difference in prices of quality industrial goods, which hitherto were financed by the turnover taxes, must be paid by the budget on the basis of a confirmed effectiveness and of established norms.

8. In order to create greater opportunities for expanded reproduction and for distribution of the total income, the basic portion of receipts obtained by increasing purchase prices and increasing the effectiveness of production, must be invested in the RTU [Development and Technical Improvements Fund] of the agricultural organizations, and the deductions for centralized funds and for the "workers wage" fund must be more correctly settled.

The Ministry of Finance and the Central Council of the National Agro-Industrial Union, by 31 December 1981, must submit to the Council of Ministers a proposal for adopting new minimum norms for deductions in the agricultural organizations' funds.

The agricultural organizations must set up a monthly schedule for establishing and distributing the total income on the basis of real profits obtained from production sales.

The economic organizations and departments of the food industry sector must, by 1 January 1981, apply the instruction on specific rules for the management of economic organizations and production departments of the "industry" branch.

9. Under the new purchase prices and a comprehensive application of the new economic mechanism, the party committees, social organizations and agro-industrial complexes' managements must expand wide organizational and political work for the accelerated and comprehensive establishment of brigade organization of a new type in all sub-branches of agriculture. They must fully demonstrate the advantages of this organization in connection with a drastic increase in agricultural production, in connection with increasing labor productivity and reducing production costs.

The National Agro-Industrial Union and the okrug industrial unions must adopt differentiated norms for production expenditures by the end of 1980, within the framework of normative production costs of basic agricultural products for the average production of the country. These norms must be distributed according to okrugs, agro-industrial complexes and individual products. They must apply to each production unit in plant growing and cattle breeding, and contribute to establishing a comprehensive control system based on material and labor expenditures per unit of production.

No counter-plans for agricultural organizations, brigades and farms will be accepted in future which plan higher maintenance costs than the established production costs, while the uncovered and obtained reserves in normative production costs should be left entirely to the responsibility of the respective work collectives.

10. Expedient and comprehensive measures must be taken by the national and okrug agro-industrial unions, by okrug and municipal BCP committees and by the Peoples' Councils to stabilize and create prerequisites to help the economically weak agro-industrial complexes in mountainous, semimountainous and border areas.

In working out engineering projects for agro-industrial complexes in these areas, the structure and organization of production must be improved and small-group, family and individual piece-work in plant growing and cattle breeding must be introduced.

Specialization and agro-industrial integration in okrugs must be intensified, and new, more varied forms of organization must be applied in agricultural production. The economically weak agricultural organizations must practice production sharing in the cattle breeding sector, and carry out side activities with other agro-industrial complexes in the same okrugs. If conditions exist for this, certain agro-industrial complexes should be transformed into specialized economic organizations for cattle breeding attached to the okrug agro-industrial unions, or into intercomplex enterprises which, on a contractual basis, will be supplied with fodder from the integrated agro-industrial complexes and other organizations. Other efficient forms of organization in agricultural production in these areas should also be applied on a larger scale, including integration with the forestry and other departments of the central cooperative union, as well as with departments of the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Public Services, and with certain large industrial and tourist complexes, industrial and other side activities, should also be developed.

11. The new purchase prices are creating prerequisites and incentives for developing and increasing production in private plots and in the auxiliary economy. It is necessary for national and okrug agro-industrial unions, for agro-industrial complexes, for Fatherland Front organizations and leading bodies of the conurbation systems to create an organization adequate to the newly existing conditions, so that the great reserves available can be more fully utilized. These reserves exist in private plots and in the auxiliary economic sector, and they can contribute to ensuring a better satisfaction of the conurbation systems' needs for agricultural production and more goods to be sold in the market.

12. The National Agro-Industrial Union and the okrug as well as municipal party committees, the basic party organizations, the okrug agro-industrial unions and the leading bodies of economic organizations are asked to expand large-scale organizational work for increasing the activities and intensifying the creative spirit of cadres, specialists and all working people in setting up efficient counter-plans on the basis of uncovering and exploiting all existing reserves, on the basis of using all organizational and material factors, and above all on the basis of the reserves and opportunities offered by the new brigade labor organization. In connection with increasing agricultural production and improving its profitability, the State Planning Committee must reevaluate the agricultural plan for 1981 and 1982, by 30 December 1980, according to the new purchase prices. The agro-industrial complexes and the other agricultural organizations must set up counter-plans for 1981 and 1982 by 15 January 1981.

13. The new decisions which the Central Committee and the government have adopted are most closely linked to implementing the general party line for constantly improving the people's living standard. This demands that the implementation of these decisions should take an important place in the essence of party work, and that the style and methods of the leading organs and cadres' work at all levels should be decisively improved.

The okrug and municipal party committees, the basic party organizations, the People's Councils and public organizations must expand active and purpose-oriented organizational and explanatory work for the most efficient utilization of opportunities offered by the new government and Central Committee decisions, as regards the comprehensive application of the new economic mechanism in all its directions and as regards totally overcoming a negative consumer's approach. It is necessary for all leading party and economic cadres and specialists, for all communists and working people in the rural areas to become more thoroughly aware of the fact that a reduction in production costs and an increase of labor productivity, on the basis of the accelerated and wide application of scientific-technical progress and the brigade labor organization, is the decisive factor for increasing agricultural production and its effectiveness, as well as for ensuring greater accumulations of funds and increasing consumption incomes.

The BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria are deeply convinced that the communists, the united agrarians, the Fatherland Front and Komsomol members, as well as all agricultural laborers and the entire Bulgarian people will correctly evluate the importance of the measures adopted as a great, new manifestation of care for our socialist agriculture's further development and the improvement of the people's well-being

The new decisions reveal a great opportunity for initiative and creative work of party and economic organs and organizations, and for the work of communists, united agrarians and Komsomol members, in producing more material goods, in abundantly providing a greater quantity of agricultural products and a more varied range of mass consumer goods for domestic markets and for the Bulgarian people's daily needs. The BCP Central Committee and the government are convinced that the cadres and all agricultural workers will devote their entire knowledge, efforts and ambition to obtain a new upsurge in agriculture, and for new achievements so that they may worthily greet the 12th party congress.

Signed: The BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

LILOV, DELEGATION DEPART FROM HAVANA FOR NICARAGUA

AU222023 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] The BCP Central Committee delegation led by Comrade Aleksandur Lilov, which took part in the second congress of the Cuban Communist Party, has departed from Havana for Nicaragua, where it will pay an official visit at the invitation of the leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

YUGOSLAV ARMY DAY CELEBRATED AT SOFIA ARMY CLUB

AU222109 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Dec 80 p 3

[Text] December 22d is celebrated as the birthday of the SFRY Armed Forces. On this date, 39 years ago, according to a decision of the LCY Central Committee, the first regular army unit of the Yugoslav Liberation Army was established in the small Bosnian village of Rudo. This first unit was called the First Proletarian Shock Brigade. A powerful impetus for its further development was given by the historical victories of the Soviet Army. Inspired by these victories, the soldiers and commanders of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army inflicted increasingly devastating blows on the fascist troops.

On the occasion of this anniversary of the SFRY Armed Forces, a film was shown last night at the central club of the People's Army in Sofia. It was organized by the People's Army main political administration and by the Sofia garrison. Danilo Puric, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Yugoslavia, was among those present. Maj Gen Mladen Mladenov delivered a greetings speech to the SFRY Armed Forces. Col Mihajlo Ilic, military, naval and air force attache of Yugoslavia to Bulgaria, replied to the greetings address.

NEMEC COMMENTS ON 'CONTRIBUTION' OF GENSCHER'S VISIT

LD2223?0 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Petr Nemec commentary]

[Text] Everybody agrees that negotiations, whether bilateral or multilateral, form the very foundations of international relations. It is quite clear that negotiations are necessary at all times. In a good international climate as well as when the situation is not so good, such as at present. Hans-Dietrich Genscher met in the course of his 3-day stay in Czechoslovakia the leading representatives of our country: Comrades Husak, Strougal and Chnoupek. Both sides assessed the results of the talks as a constructive dialogue clarifying viewpoints on the most important international problems. The clarification of viewpoints, and the assessment of significant problems--an assessment that may frequently take the form of a polemic--are the basic prerequisite for the development of bilateral relations between states with different social systems. This is so above all else, because such a dialogue effectively removes the seeds of mistrust and misunderstanding.

Naturally, it was not even hoped that the CSSR and the FRG would agree on the question of the causes of the deterioration of the international situation. It was good that Minister Genscher again spoke in Prague about his government's willingness to continue the policy of detente and to fulfil all of the points of the Helsinki Final Act; that he spoke about the necessity of convening a European conference on disarament; and that he spoke in favor of Soviet-U.S. talks on the limitation of strategic armaments and about the usefulness of the Vienna talks on the limitation of the military forces and armaments in central Europe.

The point now is that the viewpoints of the Federal Government, as conveyed in Prague by Minister Genscher, should also be reflected in multilateral international deliberations, (?as regards Europe), for example, in Madrid or Vienna.

The delegations of the two states have expressed their wish to deepen systematically their relations in the spirit of the treaty on mutual relations of 1973 and the joint declaration of 1978, signed in the course of Comrade Husak's visit to the FRG. Mutual trade is developing satisfactorily, but there are limitations on direct cooperation of enterprises, and economic cooperation on third markets has only just started. It has also been found that on both sides of the common border there is more than enough interest in the development of economic and cultural contacts.

The CSSR-FRG negotiations have undoubtedly contributed to realistic attempts at making the European situation healthier. The contribution was above all in that the talks have clarified stands and viewpoints. The same goes for the bilateral relations, since they constitute a part of European relations, as was, after all, stressed by both foreign ministers. The point is that the results of the dialogue should be reflected in international life. On our side there is more than enough good will and determination to strive for the implementation of these results.

TRIBUNA APPLIES 'LESSONS' TO POLISH SITUATION

AU192019 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 50 10 Dec pp 1, 8

[Karel Horak article: "The 'Lessons'--A Constant Living Source of Inspiration"]

[Excerpts] The Intentions of the Class Enemy Do Not Change

To this very day, the rightwing forces and anticommunist centers present the counterrevolutionary activity of revisionists and antisocialist forces in our country during the crisis-ridden years as an attempt to "improve" socialism, and their representatives as defenders of democracy and freedom for the working people.

This stubborn endeavor of anticommunist centers and revisionists to "prove" that in 1968 it was not a case of a counterrevolution in Czechoslovakia, but of an attempt to implement the "new," "democratic" model of socialism, is no coincidence.

Because, in fact, the imperialist circles have not renounced their efforts to disintegrate and liquidate real socialism. The defense of the so-called revival process, and the claim that it had a socialist character, are intended to significantly aid them in this. This defense and claim serve the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda for attacks against the CPCPZ's and CPSU's policy, against Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, and against real socialism in general. These efforts are part of their tactics to set the workers class and communist parties in capitalist states against real socialism, and especially against the Soviet Union; to discredit the USSR's policy; and to lead the communist parties into nets of revisionism.

At the same time these "arguments" and particularly their methods, serve the imperialist circles in the battle against the other socialist countries. This was tellingly manifested in the second half of this year, in connection with events in the Polish People's Republic. As in 1968, when it was a case of helping the Czechoslovak rightwingers, the bourgeois propaganda again developed a large campaign for support of those forces which are striving to break the socialist political system in the Polish People's Republic, and which are constantly destabilizing the situation in Poland. At present, too, they are striving to prove that they are concerned with "improving" or "reviving" socialism, with an endeavor of "workers wanting to take socialism into their hands and to fill it with a new content."

Like 12 years ago in the CSSR, the activity of antisocialist forces is belittled and covered up, and simultaneously diverse events and acts are imbued with an opposite purpose. All that disrupts the socialist political system and is an expression of its destruction (for instance, the existence and activity of antisocialist organizations such as the KOR; the Confederation of Independent Poland and the movement of Young Poland; the splitting of the unity of the trade union organization; the emergence of the so-called "independent" students union; the organizations of strikes; the formulation of constantly newer and newer wage demands, the realization of which leads to an accumulation of purchasing power not covered by production; the attacks against the PZPR's leading role, against security bodies and officials devoted to socialism; the pressure actions against state bodies, and so forth), all this is presented as a development of democracy and freedom, as the satisfaction of the true interests of the workers class. And everything that serves socialism, everything that is aimed against destruction and the activities of antisocialist forces, the endeavor to reinstall order and a normal working rhythm, is called an act contradicting the interests of Polish society and the working people.

Whom does the bombastic publicity about the so-called independent trade unions and their activities serve? Publicity about an activity which is in many places concentrated on a permanent organization of strikes and other actions which intensify the destabilization of the situation in the Polish People's Republic? At the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum Comrade Stanislaw Kania, the Central Committee's first secretary, stressed with regard to these endeavors undertaken by the hostile elements: "...on no account can one justify strikes of a prestigious or even political nature. Deep alarm [znepokojeni] is also evoked by attempts to push through--by threatening with a strike, or even by occupying official premises and buildings--changes in the vojvodship's state and political bodies or managements of certain plants. A number of actions are being carried out in an atmosphere of ultimative demands, of impermissible pressure and arrogance toward the management and colleagues.

"The trend to enforce one's own stand, even provoking irritation, is also being transferred to the streets of cities or to various public facilities in the form of various leaflets, inscriptions, slogans and violations of diverse regulations, as well as arbitrariness. All this testifies that certain persons and organizations of 'Solidarity' are transgressing the framework of their activity as a trade union organization, as defined in the statutes. This kind of action is a violation of the law, a usurping of attributes belonging solely and exclusively to the state power. . . ."

As in Czechoslovakia during the years of crisis, so today in the Polish People's Republic there are anticommunist and internal rightist, antisocialist forces behind these actions. "The core of the problem," Comrade Kania said at the seventh session of the PZPR Central Committee, "is that some sectors of this essentially workers movement, a movement of the working people, have been infiltrated by groups and persons connected with centers of imperialist diversion abroad, which pursue objectives hostile to socialism and the people's government, and which provide this movement with negative inspiration. They represent various orientations and persuasions. Trenchant class struggle continues. Enemies of socialism have been until now for tactical reasons joining the movement of the workers class which is to serve them as a springboard to the next stages. However, their path is not the path of the workers class. They seek to dismantle and overthrow Poland's socialist statehood. This plan is in its essence antiworker and counterrevolutionary."

Bourgeois information media are openly expressing their admiration and supporting these forces. The considerable sums of money and other resources which flow into Poland from reformist trade unions and other reactionary organizations in the capitalist countries are also meant for these forces.

The 'Lessons Drawn From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress tellingly shows how the rightist forces in our country--by organizing various campaigns, demonstrations, strikes and memoranda with ultimative demands--were evoking a permanent crisis in society; how they were exploiting these actions to deepend disintegration in the party, state bodies and social organizations and to elicit economic difficulties; and how they were striving to keep the public in a state of constant tension and nervousness, and to prevent the possibility of overcoming the crisis and consolidating the situation on Marxist-Leninist principles.

Whom the Slogan "Independence" Serves

The period of crisis in our country also clearly showed that the slogans about the "independence" of trade unions and youth organizations, about the partnership relations of these organizations with the party, about trade unions "without communists" or about the recognition of the party's leading role in the state, but not in social organizations, serve to deceive the working people and to conceal the true objectives of antisocialist forces. The organizations that had been founded and worked on these principles in our country in the years of crisis (and there were quite a few of them!), ended in the mud of revisionism, nationalism and anti-Sovietism. Many of them--for example the so-called federation of locomotive squads, the union of university students, the so-called coordination committee of creative unions, the union of youth clubs and others--were direct organizers of antisocialist, counterrevolutionary activity.

Thus it was confirmed in practice that no matter what the subjective intentions might be, the "independence" of various organizations of the party and socialist state, as well as the rejection of the party's leading role, objectively serves the class enemy.

This is not only our, Czechoslovak, experience from the years of crisis. The Kronstadt revolt against Soviet power in the spring of 1921 was led under the slogan "Soviets without Bolsheviks," under slogans which were seemingly identical with the Bolshevik slogans. When V.I. Lenin at the 10th congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) analysed the causes of that petite bourgeois counterrevolution and its protagonists, he emphasized: "They all came with slogans about equality, freedom and legislative assembly, and not just once, but many times, it emerged that they are just a small step, a springboard for transition to white guards power," that is, to counter-revolution. Such is the logic of the class struggle. Slogans about freedom, democracy and independence, which are perceived from a nonclass aspect [netridne chapana] and applied in that manner, have--in the end--always a counterrevolutionary character. It is no coincidence that the bourgeoisie, reformists and revisionists have also been using them since the Great October Socialist Revolution to this day as one of the weapons against real socialism and the Marxist-Leninist teaching.

CZECH PREMIER KORCAK VIEWS RELATIONS WITH CUBA

LD212344 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Dec 80

[Correspondent Jan Kravarik interview with Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier, who led CSSR delegation to Cuban Communist Party Congress--date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Korcak, what are your impressions from the progress of the deliberations of the top body of Cuban communists?

[Answer] I, as well as the entire delegation, have the best impressions. We listened very carefully to the report delivered to the delegates at the congress by Comrade Fidel Castro, and we were very pleasantly surprised by the results achieved by Cuba in recent years. It is well known what the standards of living in Cuba used to be, what the situation was as regards illiteracy, the health care and so on--and now Cuba is an advanced state. Cuba has not only eliminated illiteracy but Cuban teachers are helping with the elimination of illiteracy in [word indistinct] Latin American countries. Cuban doctors work (?in many) hospitals of Latin America and Africa, and Cuba has also in several cases helped to defend the achievements of the revolution against internal and external enemies who were endangering the revolution in (?many) countries.

[Question] The Second Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, will, no doubt, have influence on the further development of Czechoslovak-Cuban relations. How do you think the conclusions of the second congress will be reflected in the development of Czechoslovak-Cuban cooperation?

[Answer] Of course, there will be such an influence. Although in his report Comrade Castro at the congress praised our mutual relations, I think that they can be improved still more. Contribution to this must be made both by us and by the other side. Cuba is a developing country and it will need much from us in order to build new enterprises, to renovate old plants, to modernize them and improve their labor productivity, to eliminate heavy work which still exists in many places. Cuba will need electricity and we happen to be a country with a tradition in the manufacture of energy-generating equipment. We have already exported some to Cuba in the past and we were pleased to hear that this equipment works well and reliably. No doubt, Cuba will need more of this equipment from us.

Moreover, Cuba is likely to need not only the products of our engineering but also the products of our consumer industries in order to fulfill its plans.

Finally, Cuba needs also the products of our chemical industry. At the same time we are able to get from Cuba certain amount of ores and metals not to be found in our country and we can also buy from Cuba still greater quantities of lemons and oranges, and other commodities.

LEADERS SEND CONDOLENCES ON KOSYGIN'S DEATH

AU221137 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Dec 80 p 1

[Text] Prague, 20 Dec (CTK)--Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR President, and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal sent to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers the following telegram of condolences on the death of Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin, former chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Esteemed comrades.

We have received with deep grief the report on the death of Comrade Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet and former chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

In Comrade Kosygin the CPSU and all Soviet people have lost a prominent party and state figure of long standing who devoted all his life and all his creative forces to the struggle for the victory of Leninist ideas. His name will forever remain associated with the historical successes of the Soviet people in the struggle against Hitlerite fascism, and with the results achieved in building a socialist and communist society in the USSR. Through his responsible work of many years as member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers he significantly contributed to strengthening friendship, alliance and multifaceted fraternal cooperation among countries of the socialist community, and to peace and progress in the world.

In the hearts of the communists and working people of socialist Czechoslovakia he will be forever inscribed as a dedicated communist, patriot and internationalist, as a sincere friend of Czechoslovakia and its people, who deserves great credit for the development of fraternal relations of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation.

We express to you, dear comrades, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR Government and in our own names our profound and sincere sympathy over this painful loss.

HUSAK CONGRATULATES BREZHNEV ON 74TH BIRTHDAY

AU221250 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 80 p 1

["Text" of letter sent by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, to Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, on the occasion of the latter's 74th birthday]

[Text] Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

On behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, all Czechoslovak people as well, as in my own name I congratulate you sincerely and wholeheartedly on your 74th birthday.

I gladly take this opportunity to express the profound regard of the communists and working people of socialist Czechoslovakia of the Leninist CPSU, the outstanding statesman, important representative of the international communist and workers movement, tireless fighter for peace and progress in the world, a man who has given all his strength and capabilities to service in building the great edifice of communism, the well-being of the working people and their life in peace and happiness. [paragraph continues]

Your years-long theoretical and guiding work at the head of the fraternal party of Soviet communists and the Soviet state is linked inseparably with the outstanding successes achieved by the people of the Soviet Union in building the foundations of communist society and the determined struggle for the cause of peace, progress and freedom of nations the world over.

We esteem highly the purposeful efforts of the Soviet Union to avert the danger of the military conflict and to ensure the peaceful life of nations, efforts reflected in numerous constructive and realistic proposals of the Soviet Government for disarmament, strengthening peace and security and the peaceful settlement of unresolved international issues. These proposals have met with the full support of the Czechoslovak people, who realize again and again that it has been thanks to the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union, with which our country is linked by solid ties of fraternal friendship and alliance, that we have been able for the past 35 years since the liberation of our homeland by the glorious Soviet Army to make successful progress along the road of socialist construction.

Your outstanding personal contribution in framing and implementing the foreign policy line of the CPSU and the Soviet state, which is highly appreciated by the progressive forces the world over, is a brilliant example of the creative application of the principles of Leninist peace policy and a great effort aimed at the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist community based on the unshakable principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

We are sincerely glad that the relations of friendship, alliance and all-round cooperation continue to deepen between our fraternal parties and countries, between the Czechoslovak and Soviet people, and we highly value the attention you are devoting to their further successful development. These relations are for us a reliable guarantee of the socialist present and future.

Dear Leonid Ilich, I wish you good health and personal contentment in the years to come as well as many fresh successes in your responsible work in preparation for the 26th CPSU Congress and in the realization of its conclusions, in building a communist society, in the struggle for the victory of socialism, peace and progress the world over.

BRIEFS

SLOVAK ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION--A session of the Slovak Anti-Alcohol League held in Bratislava on 1 December and chaired by Slovak Minister of Justice P. Kiraly noted that in the first three quarters of 1980 citizens of the Slovak Socialist Republic spent Kcs8 billion on alcoholic beverages, which was 25 percent of the retail trade turnover in foodstuffs. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Dec 80 p 2 AU]

HONECKER RECEIVES USSR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN KOSTANDOV

LD221622 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1417 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 22 Dec (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received at the Central Committee office on Monday Leonid Kostandov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is in Berlin as head of the Soviet Government delegation attending the 27th meeting of the GDR-USSR joint government commission.

Leonid Kostandov conveyed fraternal greetings from Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and from Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, which were most cordially reciprocated.

Erich Honecker congratulated Leonid Kostandov on his appointment as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Soviet part of the joint government commission. According to his firm conviction, the commission's work will continue to contribute toward the consistent implementation of the policy of rapprochement by the two states and peoples, also in the economic sector, as adopted by the SED and CPSU. It is of great importance that in preparation of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 10th SED Congress new projects of economic cooperation far-reaching cooperation were discussed and relevant treaties and agreements concluded.

Kostandov thanked [Honecker] for the congratulations and underlined his certainty that also in the future new initiatives will be forthcoming from the joint government commission in order to master comprehensive tasks and measures of economic and scientific-technological cooperation. For this, the USSR will do everything.

He briefed his host on the preparation of the 26th CPSU Congress. The October Central Committee plenum, which adopted the plan tasks for 1981 and the draft of the main guidelines of economic and social development of the USSR for 1981-85 and for the period to 1990, met with a lively response from all USSR workers and triggered off numerous initiatives.

Despite the attacks by certain circles of the imperialist states the Soviet Union will continue unwaveringly its course by safeguarding peace and increasing the prosperity of the Soviet people, Kostandov said. In this it will continue to be supported by the comprehensive cooperation and the deepening of socialist economic integration with the other socialist countries.

The two sides expressed their conviction that good preconditions exist in order to consolidate further and deepen the economic relations on the basis of agreements between SED and CPSU and the identity of their political views and ideological standpoints, for the benefit of the peoples of the two states.

The meeting, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and full agreement, was attended by: Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, Gerhard Schuerer, candidate of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, as well as Minister Gorald Gorald Gorinovich, counselor of the USSR Embassy.

HONECKER MEETS WITH USSR AMBASSADOR ABRASIMOV

LD221350 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1333 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] Berlin, 22 Dec (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received in Berlin on Monday Petr Abrasimov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR ambassador to the GDR. The guest presented on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee an invitation of the SED Central Committee to send a delegation to the impending 26th CPSU Congress.

During the course of the friendly talk other topical questions were also discussed.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND QUOTES LISBON AVANTE ON POLAND

AU221420 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 20-21 December carries on page 2 a 300 word summary of an article published on 18 December by the Portuguese Communist Party organ AVANTE condemning the "imperialist campaign against the Polish People's Republic" as a "most serious interference of international capitalism in the internal life of the Polish people and a no less dangerous taking advantage of the situation for fanning anti-Sovietism and justifying the arms race. According to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the Portuguese paper sharply condemns the "recent threats of NATO in connection with the situation in Poland," the dispatch of U.S. "espionage planes" to Europe and the "intensified radio propaganda" of the imperialists.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND RAPS BERLIN NEWSPAPER REPORT

AU221355 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Dec 80 p 2

[A.Z. article: "Via Detours in the TAGESSPIEGEL"]

[Text] TAGESSPIEGEL [DAILY MIRROR] Licensed in West Berlin's U.S. sector, carried a report yesterday from the GDR which "reached the West and the TAGESSPIEGEL editorial office by detours." This editorial announcement was intended to attract special attention because, after all, the report about the mood prevailing in the GDR had not reached the editorial office directly but "by detours." Thus what was made clear was that it was not so much the contents of the report but the "detour" it had taken to reach TAGESSPIEGEL which was important. "Detours" of this kind have indeed often brought many things to the surface which otherwise would not have been credible enough for the manipulation of public opinion.

When describing the mood in the GDR, TAGESSPEIGEL became a nachtspiegel [nightly mirror]. Whatever concerns the GDR is painted black all over. In doing so ideas were borrowed elsewhere and no hesitation was shown. To freely quote Adenauer, "not to be too squeamish about the truth," because according to TAGESSPIEGEL the mood in the GDR "has rarely been as bad as now."

It is astounding what all is taking place in the socialist world via "detours." Increasing the minimum exchange quota or, the "compulsory exchange quota" as the Western Goths term it, has been a "blow below the belt" naturally not only for FRG citizens but also for GDR ones. This, as the specialists in "detours" assert, has stirred up waves of powerless horror "from the Baltic Sea to the Erzgebirge mountains. An astonishing case of self-containment because otherwise it has always read according to the FRG anthem--and particularly after the most recent decision of the Karlsruhe federal court--"from the Maas up to the Memel, from the Etsch up to the belt."

As mentioned earlier, there is no question of this in the "detours" report. And there need not be any either because why should all be said in a single report. After all, on the front page of the newspaper "The Russians Are Warned of Unusual Steps" and on page 3, directly below the "detours" report, Bonn looks in the direction of "Warsaw With Growing Concern."

Hence what else do you want, readers, you who are compelled to accept this report. You know now that the blood has come to boil in the GDR: not because of the 1.1 million unemployed in the FRG and West Berlin, perhaps, or because of the more than 100 drug victims, primarily youths, killed annually in West Berlin. The blood has come to boil now because visitors to the GDR must partly finance their visit themselves as a result of the mandatory exchange quota. The other part, thank God, can be deducted from taxes as a result of the beneficial revanchist policy of the Bonn Bundestag. The question is as to where is the hardship for the socially weak who, properly speaking, should not exist at all in the FRG and (West) Berlin because of the great freedom.

And not only that. After this vesatious increase in the minimum exchange quota, it no longer pays to acquire 5 East marks for 1 West one at money exchanges in the FRG and West Berlin, because in connection with the minimum exchange quota, travel to the GDR has become too expensive despite the bogus exchange rate. And the danger has also increased of being apprehended while violating GDR foreign currency laws which penalize both imports and exports of GDR marks into Western countries.

As can be gathered from official FRG appeals, federal citizens and West Berliners must now assume an even greater sacrifice and still travel to the GDR. Not perhaps, and this should be duly noted, to meet relatives but to prevent "the nation" from falling apart. After all there still exists for Bonn a "German Reich within the borders of 1937," that is also a portion of Poland and the USSR in addition to the GDR. And this is the gist of the matter. The relatives are not so much important as is the "cohesion of the nation" regardless of what this might be understood to mean. When one visits France, Austria, Great Britain, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands and even the United States one needs even more than M25 per day. And this applies particularly now that the dollar has climbed to a vertiginous height in relation to the FRG mark. Thus it is not the amount involved in the minimum exchange quota. It still is higher in Western countries. One ride on the streetcar or underground costs M1.5 to M2 there. As mentioned earlier, what counts is "the continuity of the nation within the borders of 1937."

As can be further read in TAGESSPIEGEL, the GDR's information policy is bad and only guided by the interests of the ruling quarters there. This is indulged in there even though the Federal Government feels itself responsible for all Germans, hence also GDR citizens. A very unpleasant thing for the "detours" reporter, all the more so since Bonn feels even more responsibility for the GDR than for Bavaria.

But things in the world do not proceed according to feelings.

It was only a few days ago, after all, that an Anglosaxon paper wrote that one could spend a cheap weekend in the GDR despite the minimum exchange quota. And this was written even before the dollar rate went up in the exchanges. Here you are. One cannot even depend on the allies. Naturally this must sound like a mockery to people loyal to alliances. It is not only travel to the United States that has become more expensive. Washington evidently did not ask Bonn as to whether the rate of the dollar should be permitted to climb.

And the question in the "detours" report as to how much a set of tires costs in Bielefeld or Stuttgart is of little use there. Some 7.5 million unemployed in the EC countries speak for themselves. [paragraph continues]

Juggling figures and semitruths, they explain that what is involved in the FRG and the other capitalist countries now is more than tires. The truth is bad enough even so. But this is what the TAGESSPIEGEL editors are silent about, particularly about the fact that the NATO countries are to blame for the exacerbation of the international situation--through NATO's long-term rearmament program of May 1978, the Brussels missile decision of December 1979, the new U.S. nuclear strategy and the nonratification of the SALT II treaty.

The TAGESSPIEGEL editors also pass over in silence the fact that Bonn, as late as 10 years after the beginning of the normalization process between the GDR and the FRG, wants to claim exclusive rights to GDR citizens. It is a peak of hypocrisy to offer Bonn's way of life as a cure-all for the world.

Let us still quote that section of the "detours" report where entire enterprises wish to have nothing to do with solidarity contributions. To this should be added the low working morale of the GDR citizens. This is what you get when you must read TAGESSPIEGEL. Money gifts for international solidarity have particularly increased in the past few months. Two daily outputs have been produced additionally in the national economy in honor of the 10th party congress. According to the 1981 national economic draft plan which will be debated at the forthcoming People's Chamber session, national income is to rise 10 percent, industrial commodity production 105.8 percent and labor productivity 105 percent. Agriculture intends to boost plant production to 409 tons per hectare. A total of 174,500 apartments are to be either built or modernized. The population's net money receipts are to increase 104 percent and retail trade turnover is to be 104 percent, while existing prices for mass consumer goods are to be retained, that is for more than 80 percent of the retail trade commodities; rents will remain low as before and prices for services will be stable.

And indeed it is no surprise in view of such a development if some people on the other side are getting nervous. Such a thing does not exist in the free world. But things cannot be different if one takes the free world of Springer's concern as a paragon. Even zero growth is a success for the capitalist world. Things are different with armaments. A Federal Republican "Tornado" plane now costs 35 million [no currency given] instead of the estimated 7 million, even 62 million according to latest reports.

In the face of such occurences, it is no wonder that detente has failed to materialize. In this way, it must be doubted in view of the available facts whether certain NATO quarters expected detente at all.

In that respect, GDR citizens are looking more optimistically into the future; and as was expressed at the 13th SED Central Committee session they are doing this with good reason.

GOVERNMENT EXTENDS CUSTOMS RESTRICTIONS

LD221600 Hamburg DPA in German 1447 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] Bonn (DPA)--East Berlin has confirmed reports by travelers according to which, unlike practice to date, the same customs regulations have been applied to articles purchased out of the minimum currency exchange requirement as to gifts on exit from the GDR. The Ministry for Inner-German Relations stated today in Bonn that insofar as GDR export bans and restrictions exist they thus apply to articles purchased as well as to gifts. Hitherto a series of bans and restrictions has not applied to articles acquired with deutschmarks or with legally exchanged GDR marks.

According to the Bonn ministry, charges are now also payable for articles purchased when the no-charge limits are exceeded. They amount for gifts and purchased articles together to 20 GDR marks per person per day for short trips up to 5 days, or 100 GDR marks per person for longer trips. The ministry reminded travelers that all gifts and purchases have to be entered in the "declaration of articles and currency brought."

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER ADDRESSES CONFERENCE

AU221341 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Dec 80 p 2

[ADN report: "Further Tasks of the National People's Army and Border Troops Deliberated On: Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann at National Defense Ministry Conference"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On Tuesday the collegium of the National Defense Ministry and the Secretariat of the Main Political Administration of the National People's Army [NVA], together with commanders, staff and political officers, deliberated on the tasks related to the further initiative-filled preparations for the 10th SED Congress. The conference was directed by Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense. It oriented the communists and all army members, border soldiers, and civilian employees toward doing all that is within their strength to fulfill their class assignment with a maximum of vigilance and even greater energy to make it possible to continuously carry on the successful course of the unity of economic and social policy.

Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the NVA's Main Political Administration, spoke in evaluating the 13th SED Central Committee session in the NVA, the Border Troops and the GDR Civil Defense.

Referring to the tense international situation he pointed out that the activities of the most reactionary imperialist quarters are aimed at altering the military power balance in their favor. The December 1980 NATO sessions have reaffirmed that the imperialist war pact is continuing the planned tremendous arms projects for which the working people will have to bear the expenses, as well as rapidly increasing the readiness for the aggression of its armed forces, thereby endangering peace and enhancing the threat of war.

To foil this peace-threatening course which is particularly pursued by the advocates of the "cold war" policy in the United States and the FRG, it is necessary for each soldier to contribute at his place to enhancing fighting strength and combat readiness.

The multifaceted initiatives in the socialist competition "10th Party Congress Combat Position" express the firm affinity of the people's soldiers with the SED and its policy aimed at the people's well-being.

It is important for troop units, formations, staffs and institutions to solve all the political and military tasks of the 1980-81 training year with optimum results. In doing so the worker-peasant power will be strengthened and the readiness of the army members displayed, side by side with the glorious Soviet Army and the other allied armed forces, to reliably defend socialism and peace against all the attacks of imperialism.

SOVIET AMBASSADOR ARISTOV DISCUSSES RELATIONS

LD230415 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] The main trends of the socioeconomic development of the USSR in 1981-85 and for the period till 1990, mapped out in the draft document prepared by the Central Committee of CPSU for the 26th party congress, were the topic of a meeting with Soviet Ambassador Boris Aristov, which was held today at the House of Polish-Soviet Friendship in Warsaw. Political and social activists, activists of the society in Warsaw and a number of voivodships participated in the meeting chaired by the chairman of the main executive of the Polish-Soviet friendship society, Stanislaw Wronski. Boris Aristov spoke of the preparations for the 26th CPSU Congress which will open in Moscow on 23 February.

Referring to Polish-Soviet relations he emphasized that, as in the past, they are very good. The economic cooperation between the two states was mutually advantageous. The Soviet Union and Poland were important partners in the goods trade. The mutual trade turnover will close in the ending 5-year period with the sum of R33.5 billion. The planned premises indicate that in the coming 5-year period they will reach the level of R43 billion.

Referring to the recent NATO session, at which the Polish problem was discussed, Ambassador Aristov said that it endeavored to find, under an alleged threat of aggression, a justification for the intensification of the program of armament of the North Atlantic Pact. Our adversaries do not like that the representatives of PZPR have once again emphasized that Poland was, is, and will be a socialist state, a permanent link of the socialist community.

The Soviet ambassador next added that the leaders of Poland and the Soviet Union have stressed once more that the relations between the two states have served and will serve the solving of the difficult problems of stabilizing socialism in Poland in the spirit of the decisions of the sixth and seventh plenum of the party's Central Committee.

Further Report

LD230432 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] A meeting of the ambassador of the Soviet Union, Boris Aristov, with political and social activists of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society took place in the House of Polish-Soviet Friendship yesterday.

In the course of the meeting Ambassador Aristov referred to the problem of Soviet-Polish relations, stressing that they were very good and have a still better future and possibility of further development. On the basis of numerical data he explained that the Polish-Soviet economic cooperation was mutually advantageous. Further in his statement the ambassador stated that the truth about the Soviet Union, Polish-Soviet friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation, the enemies of socialism try to drown in the murky wave of falsehoods and insinuations, rumors and slanders. Under the pretext of the alleged Soviet threat, NATO found a justification for stepping up an armaments program.

Ambassador Aristov recalled that during the December meeting in Moscow of the leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries a conviction was expressed about the creative force of the Polish working class, of the working man, the communists. Brotherly solidarity was expressed as was support for socialist Poland.

The Soviet leaders have stressed yet again that the relations between the two countries have served and will serve the resolving of difficult problems pertaining to the stabilizaton of the socialist deed in Poland in the spirit of decisions of the sixth and seventh plenums of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party.

FOREIGN TRADE UNDER SECRETARY ON FOOD IMPORTS

LD230008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] The shortage of many basic food items is one of the most acute phenomena of the economic difficulties experienced by our country. The under secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy, Antoni Karas, has granted an interview to PAP on the volume and structure of food imports to Poland.

He said that the plan envisaged the purchase abroad of food valued at 1.7 billion foreign currency zloty. Till the end of the year 83 percent of planned imports have been realized. [sentence as heard]. Because every year the greatest intensification of deliveries occurs in December, it can be expected that the plan for food imports will be implemented. Deliveries in excess of plan are also being implemented, from both the socialist countries and the capitalist ones.

Under Secretary Karas emphasized the fact that the socialist countries have presented an offer of significant aid for solving our food difficulties. So far, agreements on the delivery of food items worth 293 million foreign currency zloty have been signed within the frame of this offer. So far, food costing 180 million foreign currency zloty has reached our country. We have received, to date, for instance, more than 870 tons of rice, 660 tons of sunflower oil and more than 2,000 tons of butter.

Under Secretary Karas also said that, among others, a positive reply to the Polish proposal for an exchange of some of our industrial goods produced for the market for food items has been received from Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania. It is expected that the total value of the goods subject to this exchange will total about 50 million foreign currency zloty. These imports will take place during the first half of next year.

An additional import of food items has also been made in exchange for convertible currencies. For instance, lard has been bought in the United States, Denmark and Italy. We have signed contracts in excess of plan for 46,000 tons of meat in the FRG, France and Denmark. So far, 46,000 tons have been delivered.

Under Secretary Karas said that the countries united in the EEC have proposed to us the sale of certain surplus agricultural products, including pork and beef, butter, sugar, rice, rapeseed, powdered milk and oil. The value of the goods offered for sale amounts to $200 million and we shall pay this when we decide on whether to purchase those items. In effect, the EEC has quoted prices that are somewhat lower than those on the world market.

In conclusion, Under Secretary Karas said: Life does not end in the fourth quarter. The delivery of goods mentioned by me will satisfy our next year's needs.

JABLONSKI OPENS PEOPLE'S COUNCILS CONFERENCE

LD222348 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] At the conference in Warsaw today of chairmen of voivodship people's councils, there was a long debate during which the role of the representative organs in the process of renewal and the democratization of social life was discussed.

The following were present: Henryk Jablonski, member of the Politburo and chairman of the State Council; Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Zdzislaw Kurowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and deputy chairman of the State Council; Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, chairman of the SD Presidium; Zdzislaw Tomal, vice president of the ZSL Presidium; and Kazimierz Secomski.

The conference was also attended by Henryk Kisiel, chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers and deputy premier; Edward Duda, secretary of the Council of State; and Wit Drapich, deputy chairman of the All-Polish Committee of the Front of National Unity.

The conference was opened by Henryk Jablonski. To start with he stressed that the chairmen of the councils, most of them newly elected, are embarking on leadership in the work done by the councils in a difficult political and socioeconomic situation.

The directions for their activities stem from the decision of the sixth and seventh plenums of the PZPR Central Committee and from the joint declaration of the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD, which is in conformity with them, and from the strivings and hopes of the ever-widening front of unity of the forces of prudence, and responsibility for the further destiny of the state and the society.

Jablonski Speech

LD230042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 80

["Excerpts" from speech by Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Polish State Council, at 22 December conference of chairmen of voivodship People's Councils in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] In the system of institutions of socialist democracy a prominent role is being played by the people's councils as an organ of state power and at the same time as the basic organ of social self-government. Their consolidation in both these spheres of action is therefore one of the urgent targets in the process of socialist renewal.

Departing from these assumptions, we have started work on the drafting of a new bill on the people's councils. The proposals worked out by the group set up by the State Council will of course be discussed with the people's council activists. But it would be purposeful for many reasons if the presidiums of the councils were to now submit to the State Council chancellery proposals and suggestions ensuing from the experiences to date. They will be scrupulously used.

Without waiting for the new bill, the State Council and the Council of Ministers adopted on 28 November this year, on the basis of the law binding at present, a joint decision on the tentative directions for the widening of the powers of the local authorities and state administration. In long-term planning we must take into account a further widening of the role of the councils as masters of their areas of action.

In the course of the debate on the draft project for economic reform a proposal was put forward for instance that the municipal assets entrusted to the people's councils should embrace not only the equipment traditionally subordinated to them, such as municipal transportation, water services and so on, but also commercial enterprises and industrial enterprises which work on the basis of local raw materials and for the needs of the local population, as well as the majority of institutions outside the material sphere of local importance.

It also seems indispensable to further strengthen the coordinating functions of the councils as regards institutions not directly subordinated to them. Irrespective of how the future debate on these matters will proceed, one can assert without any doubts that as the councils will be better prepared to discharge the widened powers, so the bolder will be our march in that direction. Therefore, it is imperative for all people's councils to carry out an analysis confronting the wealth of achievements accumulated to date with the apparent weaknesses and shortcomings. Its results will point to directions for the streamlining of the activities of the councils, their presidiums, committees and councillors, which require special attention and concern.

This applies both the matters under consideration and to the style of work. I presented to the presidiums of the voivodship people's councils in a letter 3 weeks ago to their chairmen some remarks and suggestions of the State Council resulting from past experiences and from the debate which is in progress at present. I will be obliged to the citizens chairmen for the extension of this issue in the debate.

Among the platforms on which the people's councils are to work the first is their activity as an entity at their sessions. We are witnessing at present a visible livening up of the initiative of many councils, the adoption at the sessions of socially important topics of essential value for the given area, rich and critical debate of the councillors, and an increase in the number of submitted motions and questions. The frequency of the sessions has also increased.

During the 3-month period from September to December, 54 sessions of voivodship people's councils were held, including 19 voivodship councils which in October examined during their sessions information on the implementation of demands raised by the workforces of industrial works. Ten have made an analysis of the implementation of proposals from the population raised during the election campaign for the Sejm and the voivodship councils. Problems of agriculture and the food economy are generally discussed.

This recently intensified activity should become permanent: the general practice of the work of people's councils, their presidiums, commissions and councillors. Only in such conditions can the authority of the councils grow among the wide circles of citizens, and as a consequence the social support which is indispensable for their work.

Safeguarding the implementation of the statutory principles of the essence of the work of people's councils is immensely important for the correct functioning of the entire system of people's councils.

We should restore to the sessions of people's councils the high standing of the basic form of action of the council as a representative organ of state authority and as a forum at which all the essential issues for a given area are examined and decided, at which trends of action are mapped out for the executive organs of administration, and where the efficiency and effectiveness of work is assessed.

The principle of the openness of discussions should be generally observed at these sessions. Speedy and honest information about the results of debates, about adopted resolutions, and also about the progress of their implementation is equally necessary.

The creation of conditions for free discussion and critical speeches by councillors is an indispensable factor in increasing the activity of people's councils. The council presidiums should take care to ensure an atmosphere during sessions which will make councillors feel themselves as hosts who are responsible for the course of events discussed and which will give them the possibility of having a decisive influence on the contents of adopted resolutions.

Much attention must still be devoted to a socially correct and proper choice of problems which are to be examined by the sessions. The themes of the sessions should evolve in a way obvious to every elector from topical socioeconomic problems, needs and social moods. The councils and their presidiums must more thoroughly shape the plans of their work. It is decidedly necessary to abandon the recently quite general practice of elaborating plans for the councils' work through the administrative organs and the indiscriminate acceptance of thus elaborated drafts by the councils.

Councillors and council commissions should participate actively in the planning of the council's work, asking for the opinion of political, social, trade union organizations and of organs of self-government of urban and rural inhabitants, taking into consideration proposals raised by individual milieus and electors.

A council of every level and in every area should itself define the subjects which are to be examined in relation to local conditions and needs. There is not and cannot be a general national model in this matter.

KANIA ATTENDS GRADUATION PARADE 21 DEC

LD221030 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Dec 80

[Excerpts] Solemn graduation parades took place in many localities in Poland today, in schools, for reserve officers. The cadets were promoted to the rank of second lieutenant of the Polish People's Army.

In the first mechanized regiment of the First Warsaw Mechanized Division named after Tadeusz Kosciuszko the honor of promotion to the rank of first officer was bestowed on a group of cadet officers from higher civilian schools from various parts of the country.

Present were the relatives of the young officers, including Stanislaw Kania with his spouse, representatives of work establishments, social organizations, and youth organizations.

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI CRITICIZES 'WORKERS-80' MOVIE

AU222156 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 11 Dec 80 p 4

["Juz" article: "A Motion Picture of Unused Chances"--capitalized passages published in italics]

[Text] Gdansk, in the last 10 days of August 1980: TO BE WITH A CAMERA AT SUCH A PLACE AND AT SUCH A MOMENT WAS, FOR A DOCUMENTARIAN, PERHAPS THE ONLY CHANCE OF A LIFETIME. Andrzej Chodakowski, joint director of the feature documentary "Workers-80," stated in "film" No. 35 of 7 December. After a few months of waiting, when the motion picture began to assume the features of legend, and after opening night in Warsaw, it is perhaps worthwhile to ask how that chance was used.

"Workers-80" resembles notes or a sketch for a documentary rather than a documentary itself. I CAME TO THE CONCLUSION, Andrzej Zajaczkowski, another joint director, says THAT THE TALKS BETWEEN THE STRIKE COMMITTEE AND THE GOVERNMENT COMMISSION HAD TO BE USED AS THE BACKBONE FOR A MOVIE, AND THAT THE REALITY AS IT WAS DEVELOPING THERE, AT THAT TIME, HAD TO BE SHOWN AS THE BACKGROUND TO THOSE TALKS...MOREOVER, IT WAS SIMPLY A STRAIGHT-FORWARD HONEST FIXING OF WHAT HAPPENED. Thus, a certain roughness in presentation; the obvious deficiencies, that would discredit any other movie, in this case only add to the impression of authenticity.

At the same time, the message it carries seems to be vague and inconsistent. To say that a documentary should be an important means in the struggle for hearts and minds is a truism. We expect from directors a "cool view," objectivity and fairness in representing various parties involved in their views. But is this always practical? Is it possible at all?

What affected the shape of the movie "Workers-80" was, one can assume, the atmosphere of haste in which the idea of the picture was worked out and materialized. Every creative act requires concentration and deliberation to select the proper guiding idea. Time was essential to portray the Gdansk events, the more so since they were very complex.

The confrontation of what the two joint directors announced with the move itself proves that on the screen not everything happens in the way they foretold. True enough, there are long sequences of the talks between the interenterprise strike committee and the government commission, but for that purpose fragments were selected that would be of interest more for creative circles than workers; namely, heated discussion around the principles of the administration of justice, censorship and the security service. The movie concentrated on them.

"Workers-80" is therefore a story only about one side of the Polish workers' August. Yet the binding title of the movie suggests a fuller portrait of the attitudes assumed by the working people. After all, not everyone wanted or could join the strike, not everyone was emcompassed by upset emotions and moods. Unfortunately, this point is missed in the movie.

The movie also fails to record the most important fact that laid the foundations for the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie social agreement--the hard birth of an agreement on new independent and self-governing trade unions. The authors can only partly justify themselves by the fact that they simply were late for that part of the negotiations.

The talks, the negotiations conducted "between two Poles" had the character of a specific drama. One can say they followed almost ritual making use of their publicity. Those talks constitute the main thread of the movie. The picture leaves one with the original impression that it was not just a group of strike leaders, but thousands of strikers talking to the government commission in a little hall at tables pulled together. The camera watches with curiosity workers listening to the talks and waiting. In the movie there is a great deal of waiting. Workers are waiting for the completion of the talks, and their families just behind the decorated shipyard gate are waiting for their fathers and brothers. The whole country is shown in short scenes with hope and anxiety.

That resolute waiting manifests the great strength of workers' unity, the good organization and activity of the Gdansk shipyard collective numbering many thousands. However, the movie shows this in a scanty and tendentiously simplified way. Instead, it offers pictures of religious mysteries manipulating human feelings and desires. The text of a workers' song composed and improvised in the session hall of the interenterprise strike committee acquires, in this context, a completely different meaning.

At the end of the Gdansk talks, the difficulties piled up. The movie shows the arrogant manner of the discussion, by means of "banging the table with one's fist," inviting demogogy rather than attentive listening. The question of the so-called political prisoners and the detention of some members of dissident groups made up the crux of the dispute. One can blame the directors for having dedicated too much time to that issue, which is second-rate in comparison with the complex talks concerning trade unions. However, the movie leaves one with the impression that its point was not so much to present the full list of workers' demands, as to settle accounts with the administration of justice, censorship and the security apparatus.

Thus the legitimate question arises whether the authors of the movie, through the large measure of political controversy, do not by chance contribute to creating false proportions in the picture of the Gdansk August, and if they do not heat up the atmosphere of tensions instead of uniting desires to eliminate crises from our social life forever.

The most crucial point lies now somewhere else. It is the common solicitude for the correct, socialist line of renewal and democratization in public life. There are quite a few issues of this kind, for instance the transformation of Solidarity in opposition into Solidarity in toil and creation--quoting an Ekran publicist. Settling these issues can concentrate and unite all Poles.

LABOR MINISTER DISCUSSES NEW WORKING HOURS

LD230450 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Text] At a press conference by a government spokesman journalists were informed on the premises of the new project of reducing working time in 1981 and the following years. Janusz Obodowski, minister of labor, wages and social affairs, gave a report on this subject.

It is proposed to introduce in 1981 every other Saturday work-free and gradually increase their number in following years so that towards the end of the 5-year period a 5-day, 40-hour work week will be introduced. The plan to extend the working day to 6 and 1/2 hours has been abandoned. The duration of holidays remains unchanged and will be expressed in working days as hitherto, but free Saturdays will be included in it. It is also planned to introduce variable reduction of working time in those branches and enterprises in which the application of general rules is impossible. It is of great importance to prepare, among other things, such a plan of organization of work in the extraction industry which would ensure miners a 5-day work week but maintain at the same time a 6-day work week in mines. The problems of trade and education remain to be resolved.

The new plan will be submitted to the government soon.

PINKOWSKI MEETS WITH WRITERS UNION PRESIDIUM

LD222332 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] A meeting took place in Warsaw between Jozef Pinkowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and members of the Presidium of the Main Executive of the Union of Polish Writers. Matters connected with the forthcoming 21st congress of the union's delegates, the present state of Polish culture, and the social and material situation of the writers' milieu were discussed. Particular attention was drawn to the need to improve the situation as regards books, so that they might become generally accessible, Premier Jozef Pinkowski announced the appointment of a commission for matters connected with books. He also expressed the view that the writers' milieu will participate actively in the overcoming of the difficulties experienced by our country.

SLUPSK PARTY MEMBER EXPELLED FOR 'INFRINGEMENT' OF NORMS

LD230400 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 23 Dec 80

[Summary] Plenary meetings of the party voivodship committees were held in Ciechnow, Lublin, Plock, Slupsk and Wloclawek yesterday. During the plenary meeting in Slupsk, Stanislaw Lyczewski, former first secretary of the Slupsk town party committee, was expelled from the party for infringement of moral and ethical norms.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY REPORTS KANIA ZSL CONGRESS SPEECH

LD221115 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Dec 80 p 5

[Speech by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the Eighth ZSL Congress in Warsaw on 13 December: "We Have Reason and Strength Enough To Consistently Continue the Process of Socialist Renewal"]

[Text] Dear friends and esteemed delegates!

Permit me at the outset to convey to you on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee cordial greetings and wishes for successful deliberations.

The ZSL--an extremely meritorious political force in the service of Poland--has inherited the exceptionally rich tradition of the peasant struggles for progress and freedom, the tradition of a movement which transformed peasants into citizens and conscious fighters for the revolutionary and national [narodowy] cause. Today, the ZSL is a permanent and important factor of our political life. It stimulates social energy and channels it into the strengthening and development of socialism.

Cooperation between the PZPR and the ZSL promotes the realization of the idea of a worker-peasant alliance. This alliance consolidates and enriches our homeland's socialist system and augments the results of our joint work for the country. It strengthens our joint responsibility for its destiny, for the prosperous existence of the nation [narod].

Yesterday, at a meeting of the Main Committee for Cooperation among Political Parties, we outlined the principles of the development of interparty cooperation. We reaffirmed our desires to consolidate the institutional principles of our socialist state. Together, we will enrich the system of socialist democracy with qualitatively new contents and institutional solutions. We are and have been allies through all the history of People's Poland. Our alliance, which was formed during the struggle for a just Poland and for power for the people--the workers and the peasants--has been tested in both successful and difficult years. This is why our party will always take care of the vitality of this alliance and will promote the activeness and high standing of the ZSL.

An Alliance Between Sense and Responsibility

The Eighth ZSL Congress is taking place in difficult times, crucial for Poland's future. Drawing conclusions from the deep social conflicts which have passed through our country, conclusions from and analyses of the past, our party has determined, through resolutions adopted at the sixth Central Committee plenum, a policy for socialist renewal. It is a policy for the development of socialist democracy and for active participation by all working people in the management of the country and the economy through legislative and self-governing institutions. Our aim is to ensure security and a high and solid position for our country, implement the socialist ideals of respect for the dignity of the working man and citizens, and take care that moral principles are generally observed.

Even though its implementation will not come easily, the policy adopted at the sixth and seventh PZPR Central Committee plenums is our nation's great hope and represents a platform for uniting all its patriotic forces, inspired by realism and a sense of responsibility. We rate highly the unambiguous support of the ZSL and of its supreme authorities for the program of socialist renewal of social life.

We are faced with the very difficult and complex task of leading Poland out of a profound crisis. Only the party, together with its allies, can and must carry it out. Many difficult problems have accumulated which have to be resolved.

Some of them require time and great expense while others, especially those which will create conditions for releasing social activeness and initiative, are being dealt with by us immediately and without delay.

Lively discussions about the causes of the present difficulties are still taking place. In many circles tension is still prevailing. Chaos and anarchy are still rife in a number of places.

In this situation, our sense of responsibility impels us to firmly state: Our paramount, most important and most urgent task is to ensure peace, orderliness and public order. No one--no party member, no ZSL member, no Democratic Party activist and no patriot--should keep aloof from the struggle for all this and from our persistent efforts. However, we must not forget that there are still people in Poland among whom the process of socialist renewal has aroused the hope that our country could be diverted from the socialist development path, that two power centers could be created and that our position in the community of socialist countries could be weakened. In fact, they are not concerned about the Polish nation's fate and interests. They are more interested in creating a dangerous situation, including a confrontation.

Much harm is being done both within the country and in the international sphere by the activities of antisocialist groups, groups aiming at dismantling the socialist political system. The struggle with these forces must be active and consistent to enable the process of democratic changes on a socialist basis peacefully to develop and to enable our country to emerge from this crisis.

We are indeed able and we have reason and strength enough to consistently continue the process of socialist renewal, strength enough to curb the activities of open enemies of socialism, the activities of groups which have set counterrevolutionary objectives for themselves.

Let an alliance of the forces of reason, a sense of responsibility and inner peace develop in the name of socialist Poland's security and successful development.

Development of Agriculture is a National Problem

Esteemed participants!

The country's economic situation is extremely difficult. This is a result of mistakes made in the sphere of economic policy in former years, of this year's tensions and social conflicts and also of an exceptionally bad harvest. It is unnecessary to explain to anyone in this hall what inadequate potato and other root crops harvests mean as far as livestock raising is concerned.

The most difficult problems arise with respect to market supplies, especially as far as food is concerned. The government is taking various steps to alleviate them, but no quick improvement is possible in this sphere. It can be achieved only gradually on a basis of joint effort by the rural areas and the entire community. The creation of prerequisites for this and ensuring that these efforts are successful are joint tasks facing our party and yours. Our attitude to the main problems of agricultural policy and the development of Polish rural areas is similar. Cooperation between our parties' cells is developing, and an atmosphere of understanding and mutual respect is being strengthened.

Our joint proposals have aroused interest not only among farmers. The entire community is now looking at agriculture with concern but also with hope.

We also realize that farmers expect from the authorities no statements but concrete decisions and deeds.

Development of All Agriculture is the Cornerstone of Our Policy

We are in agreement that the development of agriculture and food production have long been national issues. This is why we state this and we will consistently take care in practice that, despite decreasing investment outlays in the economic sphere as a whole, the outlays for agriculture, food processing and those branches of industry which work for the needs of the food sector are increased. We must achieve a clear improvement in deliveries of machinery, fertilizers, plant protection agents and other supplies essential to agricultural production.

The development of agriculture as a whole--all forms of its organization--is the cornerstone of our joint agricultural policy. Taking into consideration the desires of the farming community, we support efforts to stabilize the position and role of individual farms which now produce the largest proportion of agricultural produce to feed the population. These farms have enjoyed and will continue to enjoy in Poland all guarantees for undisturbed and assured land tenure and farming.

State farms and production cooperatives play an important role in the farming sector as a whole. In conjunction with peasant farms, they should form a concerted and harmonious structure for our agriculture. Our comprehensive approach to agriculture also makes clear our attitude to land management. Land is an irreplaceable, national asset which must be used neither ineffectively nor, a fortiori, recklessly for purposes unconnected with agriculture. Unfortunately, such phenomena do occur. We should protect our land and make sure that it yields the highest harvests possible.

We are in agreement that matters concerning agriculture and the rural areas should be looked after to a much greater extent by rural self-governing organizations and the farmers themselves. Decades ago the concept of agricultural circles was born on Polish soil. In the most difficult times of partition and of capitalist Poland these circles served well the cause of defending the peasants' interests, of progress and of the development of education. In People's Poland too they were active and authentic peasant organizations, even though in some periods the role of these agricultural circles was underestimated.

Now we want the agricultural circles to achieve full self-government and much wider powers as independent social and professional organizations of individual farmers, so that they express the views of country people in all matters of fundamental interest to them. The fact that the agricultural development fund has been transferred to rural self-government confirms this. And it is also along this path and not through creating new structures that the fundamental problems of agriculture--defense of peasants' interests and agricultural self-government--should be resolved.

The constructive process of the rebirth of the agricultural cooperative movement and of agricultural self-government as a whole has already begun. Our party and ZSL cells should give it all-round support and assistance.

The Polish farmers' work serves the whole nation. We will make sure that country-dwellers are guaranteed increasingly high living and working conditions. We will broaden their access to education and culture and we will improve the situation and position of women in rural areas. We will endeavor to work out economic solutions which will ensure that agricultural production is profitable at all times. The latest increases in the prices paid for agricultural produce by purchasing centers represent a concrete step in this direction.

A general inclusion of all farmers in the retirement pension scheme has been a great social achievement in the countryside. We are aware that farmers have put forward a number of observations and proposals with respect to the way in which rules governing these benefits are implemented. As early as next year it will be necessary to study these proposals, accept them and make any necessary amendments to the law.

We Rely on Cooperation

Both our parties are duty-bound to take an interest in matters concerning the younger generation and young people in rural areas. Despite many differences among different social groups, all young people have similar objectives. Therefore, both our parties have the duty to create a favorable atmosphere for initiatives taken by young people and the entire youth movement. We must ensure socialist education and strive to strengthen youth organizations--the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Socialist Union of Polish Students and the Polish Scout Union. Young people in rural areas need comprehensive help and assistance in taking up farming as a profession. We are well aware of the specific problems facing young people in rural areas and their desire to discuss them. Our party and, I believe, the ZSL and also the youth organizations should be meeting these expectations halfway and support such initiatives. At the same time, we should take care to ensure the political and ideological unity of young people, the unity of the entire youth movement.

Esteemed delegates!

We are solving our domestic problems in a complicated international situation. The widespread interest in the events in Poland, in their influence on the state of East-West relations, on the continuation of the detente process and on the development of cooperation in Europe, is understandable. We want to express our belief that the process of socialist renewal in Poland will not only serve the interests of socialism in our country but will also help to strengthen our bonds of friendship, cooperation and alliance with the Soviet Union and with all fraternal countries. These are our intentions and our desire. We stated this at the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum. Our policy and our stance have been understood and supported by our friends and allies, as confirmed at the recent conference of Warsaw Pact member states in Moscow. Prior to this, this understanding and support were unequivocally expressed by Poland's great friend, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. The fraternal countries trust our state and our nation, and believe that we will find solutions consistent with the interests of socialism and peace to our Polish problems. I feel quite sure that this will take place and that we will overcome our difficulties by our own efforts. This is indispensable and really possible.

We pay great attention to opinions expressed in the West and in developing countries. We notice among them statements and assessments which refer to our problems and their international implications in a sober and realistic manner and which show awareness of the fact that a stable Poland is an indispensable factor of the process of detente in Europe and of international cooperation.

At the same time, however, those political forces which support adversaries of socialism in our country, interfere in our Polish affairs and try to disturb and distort the renewal process and utilize it to further their antidetente, anti-Soviet and, in fact, anti-Polish objectives, are intensifying their activities in the West.

The stabilization of the socioeconomic situation and a tangible increase in the sense of responsibility of all Poles for the fate and the state of the country are the most effective response which we can give to those forces which want to exploit our difficulties for further objectives contrary to the interests of socialist Poland and its international position. Conscious of the supreme raison d'etat and of our national interests, we will let no one turn our country into an object of political games. No one will be able to divert Poland from the socialist path of its development. Poland is and will remain a loyal ally of the Soviet Union and a steadfast member of the socialist community.

Dear friends!

The form of the worker-peasant alliance has stemmed from the political thought of communists and the radical peasant movement. This is a great and important chapter in Poland's most recent history. It should now be recalled that at the most difficult moments, peasants fought side by side with workers, defending the fatherland and fighting for its freedom, in the ranks of the Polish People's Army, the People's Guard and Army, peasant battalions and other units and that they shed their blood for the fatherland and fought until final victory in Berlin.

The names of those peasant activists who, together with the Polish Workers Party and the Polish Socialist Party fought to secure power for the people, fell in its defense, shouldered the burden of reconstruction and development and brought land in the west and in the north under the plow will not fade from memory. This means that cooperation between our party and the ZSL has profound traditions and a secure basis which is the convergence of the fundamental interests of the working class and peasants.

In the present testing times we rely on our cooperation and refer to our best traditions. We want to see in the ZSL a close ally and partner, completely independent and not only participating in the implementation of socialist Poland's development program but also coauthoring this program. While playing a leading role in the task of building socialism, the party wants to develop in its activities relations with the ZSL and the SD which will become a strong binder of the entire political system in our country.

Allow me to express the conviction that our party, together with the ZSL, the SD and all patriotic forces of our nation, will overcome the present difficulties, that the expectations and hopes of the nation will be fulfilled and that we will effectively implement a policy of understanding and socialist renewal, a policy of defense and consolidation of socialist values and principles in the name of Poland's well-being, its security and its sovereign development.

So let our ally--the ZSL--grow in strength. Let its position further improve in the service of the rural areas and let its role in our country's socialist transformations increase.

MOCZAR ADDRESS TO SEVENTH PZPR PLENUM REPORTED

AU191400 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Dec 80 p 5

[Report on speech by Mieczyslaw Moczar, Central Committee member and chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, at the 2 December session of the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw]

[Text] The discussion on Comrade Stanislaw Kania's report to this plenum has been and is stormy and has shown concern for finding the right way out of the crisis. This discussion is not devoid of passion, which is natural because we live in times that are extremely difficult. I also would like to contribute to this discussion.

There is no doubt that every officer, engineer or teacher can ask for effort from other people if he has the complete moral right to do so. Needless to say, every party member must absolutely have such a right or else he will not be able to fulfill his functions. The discussion at this plenum has criticized the party leadership for being late in its activities and for not always being effective.

It is good that the sixth Central Committee plenum and Comrade S. Kania's report unequivocally defined our thesis, which actually amounts to a political solution. It is the only correct way out. The acceptance of that thesis is the dominant feature of our discussion. The Polish communists know that if the party, as a leading force of the people, assumes responsibility for its people, it must not use force in domestic conflicts without the people's approval.

Even if we had to use it, as was the case in the history of our people's state, then it was only at a time when society approved of it and even committed itself to organizing the necessary action, delegating its representatives from factories and offices in order to help the authorities keep order.

Today, too, we must thus view the issue of so-called confrontation--this is how people generally describe a clash with the use of weapons--between the state power apparatus and elements disturbing peace. Regardless of the circumstances, any such confrontation would be, in the final reckoning, a defeat for everyone--for both sides. A painful example of that were the events in December 1970, which today--10 years later--we call a great national tragedy. I have mentioned this because here and there I encounter such views. Some people--even serious people--believe that the Politburo should go for confrontation.

Well, only the people who do not realize the extent of the consequences of such a measure can hold such a view. I think we should put an end to emotional excitement. Reasonable people in our society are really fed up with nerves, increasing tension and adventurism. They are fed up with these things, no matter what their origins. No one must overstep the limits mentioned in the plenum report. Our discussion has touched upon this subject extensively.

Everywhere our people are demanding calm and commonsense. Most have become impatient and are full of fears. They are ready to back our party's position because everyone wants stabilization. Everyone knows that only under calm conditions are reasonable people able to make reasonable decisions. That is why I concur with the entire argumentation of the plenum report, which shows that it is possible to overcome our present crisis only through prudence. In short, I am for backing and praising Comrade Kania for the fact that we have been consistently treading such a road ever since the sixth party plenum. The present task of all party members and all reasonable people is to ensure that nothing is able to induce them to use force because it would prove a tragedy for the people. It would become a road to our downfall in terms of history. People say that time heals wounds and what it is an ally to some people and an enemy to others. For us communists and for our allies it should be our best friend.

I would also like to present my view on Solidarity, which no doubt expresses many contemporary aspirations of our people. I am far from diminishing the renewal now taking place in the branch trade unions, but I wish to stress that Solidarity is a genuine and, at the same time, an elementary virgin movement. It is a virgin movement because it is supported chiefly by young people. They have no experience and that is why they often make up for it by megalomania and audacity, which is easy to see.

It also happens that a streak of brutality and adventurism has come to the surface in Solidarity. But I think that this manifestation is socially explainable and should not upset our poise. Tomorrow or the day after tomorrow some will come to their senses and others will be removed from the healthy social movement. I am sure of it. As you see, I am an optimist, an optimist in action, of course.

Prudent people in the trade union movement are veritable assets. On the other hand, the movement's unfortunates are the so-called revanchists who want to revenge their past failures. They have taken a seat at the back of Solidarity and are trying to inspire adventurism from behind the scenes and to fan hatred of socialism. I will not mention their names here, although I think that it will be necessary one day to mention them. It is bad that those string-pullers behind the scenes have forgotten their origins and that their political genealogies reach back to the fifties. We remember those years when many people, including communists, were unlawfully thrown into jails and kept there for many years. If we have not discussed those issues now, then it is only because, as I think, they should be left to history to judge. But only because of that.

As for Solidarity, I want to say that we must not lump together the positive and the negative features of the movement. We must not lump together the adversaries of socialism and the honest working people because this is throwing out the baby with the bath water.

I also think that each one of us should realize that creative thinking has been suspended in our party for many years. Whatever a party functionary wanted to say at a Central Committee plenum was censored and had to be approved by the Central Committee Organization Department. That is why many party aktivists simply kept quiet. It was in just such a situation that the thinking of the aktivs was put to sleep and that their militancy was smothered. Let us be candid about this. No doubt, the results of all that are simplified analyses and evaluations of the social situation. In a situation in which social forces are involved in large-scale movements--as is the case now--it is easy to make mistakes. For example, it is easy to see that the forces that are evil and hostile to socialism are also becoming militant. Nor is it difficult to see that those forces are now perhaps more aggressive than we thought they would be even yesterday. On the other hand, it is difficult to make in-depth analyses and to penetrate the entire spectrum of the complicated situation.

Our party must change the personnel in many of its bodies and select the functionaries able to promote socialist renewal and so to lead and serve our society. We need the party functionaries who are able to polemize with any adversary of socialism under any conditions and anywhere when defending the ideological tenets of our party. We need the functionaries who are able to win over genuine allies, but this can happen only if party functionaries enjoy authority. While saying that, I realize that when the storm is over we will perhaps miss many party members: They will simply cave in under the pressure of struggle and will have to go.

That is also a result of the past 10 years, during which there has been no ideological work within the party. There have been no meetings of entire party organizations; we have met in small groups. We have been told that it is better to discuss things in small groups, which is no doubt true. But it is also true that the Central Committee must not deliberate in small groups, but must do its job at full strength. In such a situation noble but empty speeches were used to make up for the shortcomings of ideological work. Pompous national phraseology was the panacea. E. Gierek would often use the term "fatherland" when speaking about most piddling matters. He would say "the fatherland requires," "the fatherland expects," "the fatherland is suffering," and so on and so forth. He simply abused great words to smother the pulse of the party's ideological life.

I think that today we should quite openly appeal to the party to join the line and to tell all members that they have the right to be proud of their party membership.

Our party and all its members must be organized for political confrontation. We have many arguments and are able to convince all honest people. That is why I want to stress once again that our Central Committee should become a forge of Marxist analyses and long-term evaluations. It should become a source of reliable knowledge about the party and our allies as well as about the world. The Politburo report stresses that most strongly. Precisely at this plenum everyone should arm himself with profound and logical arguments to be used in factories and higher schools in effective defense of our party's principles and decisions.

At the present time the basic issue for the party--side by side with the issues of party internal life, about which much has been said in the plenum report--is to rally the people around the party's political, social and economic problems. The political program can be borne only in action. We must take a long-term view of the future, not just a day-to-day view. We must be truthful in telling the people that if we strengthen the party, social discipline, productivity, new ideas and scientific development, we will be able to free the country from its present stranglehold within 3 years.

What I regard as most damaging to the party is factionalism, violation of the principles of democratic centralism, and the destruction of the unity of party ranks. This plenum should appeal to people to give up any activity that weakens the cohesion and unity of the party. I am convinced that the words of commonsense will reach feverish minds and will cool them off.

Comrades, we know that if a party aktivist is charged with a responsible function he is expected to fulfill important duties and to do major work, which involves long hours and great stress, especially in this present difficult period. As for the privileges connected with such work, there can be only one true privilege for a party functionary: the esteem of the people and authority among society; that is, if his work and attitude earn him such authority. All other privileges are against the party statutes, but some people who not so long ago occupied the highest posts had forgotten this truth.

We all know that what we are experiencing is no doubt a serious disease, but I think it is good fortune in our misfortune that the party has thoroughly fathomed that disease and that we are able to accurately diagnose it. I do not agree with the comrades who maintain that no such diagnosis exists.

This plenum will no doubt intensify that diagnosis. I am convinced that only we alone can effectively cure our diseases and that, following the present difficult period, which will continue for some time, our country will regain its balance and people will become more trusting, tolerant and kind to each other. At the same time, we will have gained the experience in running things so that no such crises as the present one will ever again visit our country.

Comrade S. Kania was very convincing in his report to this plenum when he said that the party's strength must be based on collective wisdom. At this point I wish to add that it must also be based on collective control. Every person in every post should be controlled in this or that way, because demoralization can take hold of everyone if there is no social control. That is why I think that control is a protective shield for all of us--party members and citizens.

There are very many reasonable people in our country who realize that our people will be weak if the party is weak. They know that the strength of the people and state is rooted precisely in the party.

In conclusion, I want to say a few words as a former World War II soldier and as a functionary who participated in establishing our people's state from the very beginning. When the last day of the war came, when the Polish banner was hoisted side by side with the Soviet banner on the ruins of Berlin and when liberated nations were beginning to rebuild their countries from war destruction, in our country another war was being unleashed--a civil war that lasted for some years. That war claimed almost 20,000 lives--members of the Polish Workers Party, the Polish Socialist Party and the Peasant Party as well as soldiers of the Polish People's Armed Forces and functionaries of the security service and militia. People's Poland was born of sufferings and struggles. Thousands and thousands of our adversaries also perished in that civil war. Let us remember that they were also Poles and that many of them were not declared enemies of the people's power. Very often the logic of the struggle or simply an accident put them on the other side of the line. We can say that now--more than 30 years after those events.

Not everyone understands our experience of history, but it is our road and we had to pay the devil for it. We cannot compare with any other European nation in that regard. That is why the Polish people are, as I see it, everywhere expressing the opinion that the people's power should be strong, wise and just. Our people want the party to be their true representative.

ARMY DAILY APPEALS FOR END TO 'ANARCHY', 'DISARRAY'

AU191812 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 8 Dec 80 p 2

[Unattributed article: "'To Defend Socialism Is To Defend the Supreme National Values and Poland's Reason of State': For Socialist Renewal, Against Disarray and Anarchy"--capitalized passages slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] THE SEVENTH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM, WHICH ATTRACTED THE CAREFUL ATTENTION OF BOTH MILLIONS OF PARTY MEMBERS AND THE ENTIRE PUBLIC, MADE A VERY IMPORTANT STEP IN DRAWING UP THE PARTY'S POLITICAL LINE WITH REGARD TO ISSUES THAT ARE NOW OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE FOR THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE: A WAY OUT OF THE PERSISTING SOCIOECONOMIC CRISIS, PROSPECTS FOR THE FURTHER SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND, AND THE MOST PRESSING TASKS CONFRONTING THE PARTY AS THE LEADING FORCE IN OUR SOCIETY.

The plenum pointed out the need for an alliance of all forces of commonsense and responsibility for the benefit of the socialist renewal of public life, and against the continuing troubles that lead our motherland to the brink of economic and moral destruction and that may result in jeopardizing fundamental national interests. Having indicated that only bold ideas and honest work can get our country out of the dangerous situation, the PZPR Central Committee once again expressed the firm conviction that the renewal of the republic can be accomplished only on the grounds of socialism, because only in socialism can true democracy develop and the ideals of social justice materialize, since socialism guarantees for Poland a place in the world worthy of our people.

Freed from the heavy weight of persons who have discredited it and from the burden of mistakes that deformed our socialist development, the party must be the decisive motivating force in that renewal. The party must declare frankness and a willingness to cooperate with all those who wish to restore order in the country, and provide conditions for carrying out a broad program for developing socialist democracy, for building effective guarantees against the repetition of the mistakes and deformations committed in the past, for a profound economic reform and so forth. Already outlined at present, guidelines for such a renewal will be specified in the discussion preceding the ninth extraordinary PZPR congress and at the congress itself.

I. The Central Committee voiced its concern about the continuing social troubles in the country, the escalating claims, the harsh use of strike threats and about the manifestations of anarchy and disarray that not only do not help the country emerge from the crisis but are driving it to the brink of catastrophe. Those phenomena also affect some extremely sensitive sectors--the defense industry and our allied cooperation commitments.

The soldiers of the Polish army share that concern and preoccupation. They voice their attitudes in letters to military publications, in speeches at party and youth meetings in their units, and at meetings with leading aktivs in the armed forces. As a Sejm deputy, Lt Gen Wlodzimierz Oliwa spoke about that in the Sejm.

Moreover, the country's defense capacity is indirectly vulnerable even to the state of social troubles, to the threats of or attempts to organize strike actions in spheres as important as railroads or motor transport, that entail the weakening of our infrastructure, and as important as fuel extraction and processing. The defense system is vulnerable to attempts to paralyze the authorities because this leads to chaos and anarchy.

For this reason we warmly support the appeal to check the further escalation of troubles, to discontinue the strikes and leaflet actions disorganizing the country's life, and to put an end to anarchy and disarray. We are convinced that the line has been reached that must not be crossed if we want to get Poland out of the dangerous situation, to take advantage of the chances for socialist renewal in the country's socioeconomic life, and to provide conditions for its successful development and for a better life of the people.

Motivated by concern for the state of the fatherland, for its independent existence and security, to which we dedicate our daily soldier's toil, we have the right to repeat what the PZPR Central Committee said in its appeal: "Let us not waste even an hour more in destructive strikes! Let us exert all energies and forces in productive work for the benefit of the republic!" We have the right to repeat it, because we did not allow ourselves to slacken the pace of soldiery service and toil even for a moment. As part and parcel of society, sharing with the entire society the drama of the August and September days, soldiers preserved order and self-control, carried on their planned tasks on the field and exercise grounds, and followed their allied commitments in joint exercises with the soldiers of the Soviet and other allied armies of the socialist community.

In response to the party's appeal, we line up today in the first ranks of commonsense and responsibility to defend socialist renewal.

II. The seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum emphatically stated once again that the republic's renewal could only be performed on the grounds of socialism, and that the development of democracy and the guarantees of independence could only be fostered within the framework of the socialist state. For the soldiers of the Polish Army, which is a national and at the same time a people's army by its origins and character, that truth is indisputable.

During the war and Hitlerite occupation, on the bleakest days when the nation was in danger of physical annihilation, it was with the inspiration of the party of Polish communists that the strategy of a liberation war emerged. Having won the support of the overwhelming part of society, that strategy resulted in the liberation of the fatherland and in Poland's return to the ancient Piast borders on the Nysa, Odra and the Baltic Sea. It was the inspiration of Polish communists to form, in the hospitable land of the Soviets, a people's army that reached the fighting strength of almost half a million and that carried the white and red banners, trampled in 1939, to the Elbe and Spree, and hoisted it, on behalf of the Poles fighting on all fronts, over the ruins of Hitlerite Berlin.

At the call of the party, we reported when it was necessary to sow the first crops on the recovered lands and to harvest the field yields. The people's soldier helped divide the landlord's big properties among poor peasants, swept the cities and fields free of mines, defended the new people's rule and frequently died from the assassin bullets of the reactionary underground.

"We stood up as an army" when the menace of a new war storm loomed over the world, a menace that emerged from the cold war spirit and from the imperialist intentions to turn back the wheel of history. We went down to Silesian mines when the country needed more coal, we were in Mogila when the first foundations were laid for Nowa Huta. We were always found wherever hardships were the greatest and wherever others were unable to manage. Socialist Poland was growing from our soldierly toil, too. Poland and socialism are for us today two inseparable concepts. We are aware that we owe the present reliable alliances and the safe borders defended by the whole might of the socialist community united in the Warsaw Pact, to the fact that we embarked on the path of socialism. We are aware that Poland counts in Europe and all over the world because it is a socialist state.

For this reason the report delivered at the seventh plenum on behalf of the Politburo by the Central Committee first secretary, Comrade Stanislaw Kania, also voiced our soldierly view: "No one must count on the hesitation and leniency of our party and the people's authorities in defense of the socialist cause. To defend socialism is to defend the supreme national values and the reason of state of Poland.

Our armed forces have always been and are an important link of people's rule. They regard the destinies of the state with the feeling of the highest responsibility, and the soldiers of the Polish People's Army will always vigilantly guard that socialist state won and built under party guidance.

This posture of the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic was voiced at the seventh plenum by Lt Gen Jozef Baryla, PZPR Central Committee member, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army.

III. The seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum listed by name the forces counting on destabilization, forces that, while hiding behind the back of the workers' trade union movement and while usurping the name of its defenders, actually pursue objectives which are more or less openly counterrevolutionary.

Let us repeat what the Politburo report says: "The crux of the problem lies in the fact that groups and persons associated with the centers of imperialist subversion abroad, and pursuing goals hostile to socialism and people's rule, have squeezed into some links of the movement which in essence is a workers' movement, a movement of the working people, and are bringing in negative inspirations. A bitter class struggle is going on. The adversaries of socialism are, for immediate tactical purposes, pretending to adhere to the strivings of the workers class, because that suits them as a stepping stone to the next stages. They are outside the workers class' path, because those forces seek to dismantle and, as a result, to undermine and overthrow the socialist statehood of Poland. This intention goes against the workers and is counterrevolutionary."

This assessment is identical with our feelings. In this periodical we have presented some political concepts of persons under the name of the so-called Workers' Self-Defense Committee and the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights. We also showed the political origins and counterrevolutionary essence of the "program" of the so-called Confederation of Independent Poland, and of its chief ideologist Leszek Moczulski. We are also familiar with the strategy of "softening socialism," preached for a long time by the centers of ideological subversion in the West. For this reason we accept with full understanding the statement set forth in the decision of the seventh plenum that "the party has a duty to close up ranks, to resolutely fight the hostile forces striving for the disorganization of life and for anarchy, and to make the whole society aware of the existing danger."

The calm and composed stand unequivocally taken by the army on the side of the socialist character of renewal, and its moral and political cohesion around the main party body, is an essential element that has a stabilizing impact on the development of the situation in the country, and detaining the adversaries of socialism from going too far in their adventurism.

It follows from the letter and spirit of the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum that it is our duty--the duty of officers, party aktivs in the armed forces and all soldiers --to consolidate that cohesion by all means, by an active ideoeducational activity to deepen the awareness of the complex processes taking place in the country, and to foster the ability to correctly discern fair slogans and substantiated critical remarks from social demagogy and attacks actually aimed at the socialist system in our country.

IV. At its seventh plenum, the party's Central Committee confirmed once again the firm will to vigorously continue the line adopted at the sixth plenum for renewal of the country's political life, a line of compromise and cooperation with all patriotic forces to settle urgent socioeconomic problems. "This is," the decision of the seventh plenum reads, "a line of real development of democracy, of restoring the trade union and social movement, of fostering workers' self-government, a line of economic reforms, of correcting mistakes, of moral renewal, as well as of necessary changes in the way the party plays its leading role."

From the outset, that line has met with full understanding among party aktivs in the armed forces, and without fearing to commit a mistake one can perhaps say that it has met with understanding in the army as a whole. Soldiers regard socialist renewal as a chance to consolidate the real moral-political unity of the nation, a unity that was subject to a hard test. They regard it as a chance to boost the socialist state and its structures, and as an opportunity to make use of new human and material reserves, to rebuild and develop the national economy, and to develop culture and education. Those are essential conditions for the further consolidation of the country's defense potential and security.

The Polish People's Army is an integral part of the nation. Whatever concerns the nation, the nation's worries and problems are not and cannot be indifferent to the army. At the same time this is a truly people's army, democratic in its nature and character. As Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, said at the sixth plenum: "As an army of a new type, it possesses values that in a bourgeois army are virtually unimaginable, including an authentic democratic spirit harmonized with military discipline, broadly developed collegial and public bodies, opinion-making mechanisms, as well as human relations built on socialist principles, extensive and strong links with the workers class and with all working people, and various forms of assistance and services for the benefit of society and the national economy."

Educated and shaped in that way, the army must be a spokesman of the renewal and of restoring the true substances of socialism stemming from its very nature. This finds confirmation in the fact that, as General Jaruzelski emphasized, the Polish Army firmly came out in support of a political settlement of the conflict.

V. Poland is an important part of the socialist community and its participation in the Warsaw Pact is an essential element of the balance of power in Europe. Implications of that fact were emphasized in many speeches delivered at the sixth and seventh PZPR Central Committee plenums. Thus our friends and allies, sober-minded politicians and public opinion in the other European states are interested in overcoming our internal crisis. The prolongation of the state of social troubles also significes the degradation of our position in the international arena, and hits at the foundations of our external security. As soldiers responsible for the country's security, we are all the more interested in swiftly overcoming the crisis. We also resolutely oppose everything that weakens our alliances and our credibility in the socialist community.

We consider it our duty to strengthen the internationalist bonds of friendship and comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet Army and other Warsaw Pact armies. We manifested this posture also in the period of highest tension. Along with their comrades-in-arms, our soldiers participated in the autumn exercises carried out by Warsaw Pact troops under the code name "Comradeship-in-Arms 80" in the GDR, accomplished their tasks on Soviet practice ranges, and along with the troops of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army trained on our practice ranges.

We regard fraternal cooperation with our comrades in arms as a guarantee of our security, a guarantee that the process of socialist renewal will not be disturbed by the external forces of revanchism and imperialism.

The decisions of the seventh PZPR Central Committee plenum hold an enormous charge of tasks and hopes. The sooner we are able to engage the party numbering millions of members in vigorous activity, the sooner we can build that extensive front of forces of commonsense and responsibility, uniting all the adherents of socialism and patriotically-minded Poles, the more efficiently we manage to unmask and eliminate in the political struggle the antisocialist forces of anarchy and disarray, the sooner our country will be able to emerge from the crisis to successfully develop on the socialist path.

It is our soldiers' duty to contribute our share toward this cause. This we do by strengthening the moral-political cohesion of the troops' by boosting discipline, order, efficiency and combat preparedness; and by cooperating with the entire party, the authorities, the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia--with all who as sincerely as ourselves desire peace, honest toil for the country and a consistent socialist renewal.

TRYBUNA LUDU SAYS 'RENEWAL' ROOTED IN PARTY

AU191631 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Dec 80 pp 3, 6

[Zbigniew Sidlecki article: "Roots of Renewal"]

[Excerpts] In the past few months we have lived through very important events that are providing us with opportunities to thoroughly change our national life: to develop democracy on an unprecedented scale and to accelerate socialist construction by implementing the idea of social justice, harmonizing economic development and creating permanent foundations of national prosperity.

We have reached a turn in the course of history that will determine our national destiny for a longer time. That turn is much more momentous than many other turns in our history when blood was shed profusely. We are also experiencing an economic crisis and a social crisis marked by successive tensions and by the fact that it is a bloodless crisis. And although its economic costs are very high, they are not ruinous. If we are able to avoid further destabilization and extricate ourselves from the crisis--most of our people firmly believe that we will, and the course of events confirms this belief (one such event is the fraternal help given us by our allies, although they are concerned about our domestic conflicts and tensions)--then we will be able to assert that never in our history have such important changes taken place at such a small cost.

Why is this so? The Polish and foreign press has drawn attention to undoubtedly the main reason for a relatively calm course of our dramatic events: The astonishingly high degree of self-organization of workers' spontaneous actions, their determination combined with political maturity, and the entire society's discipline and prudence. It is worth recalling this because what the country now needs--3 months after the signing of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements--is what the striking workers and the people supporting them were able to preserve with such success: self-discipline and civic maturity, which are guarantees of law and order even in times of tension.

It is necessary to state that most of the elements that make up what we call "renewal" appeared in Polish life a long time ago and that many of them are rooted in the PZPR. We should bear in mind, however, that those elements of renewal were too weak to assert themselves. It was necessary for the workers class to take charge of affairs and to present them to the people with its own force, determination and resolution. The way that was done was unusual insofar as Polish (and European) political practice is concerned: Without bloodshed, without destruction and without ruining the economy, because no one questioned the supremacy of a political solution and because this supremacy had been acknowledged long before August 1980 by all the forces that count in Polish political life.

That is why the statement that was made when the Gdansk agreement was signed that there are no victors and no vanquished, is profoundly true. We should realize that, despite the appearances created by the fact that really tough negotiations were entered into by the two sides sitting on either side of the table, the Gdansk agreement is no compromise, but precisely an agreement as to the roads of renewal and as to the shape of Polish democracy in the eighties and probably beyond them.

Our party is able to muster enough strength to remove those comrades from its leadership who are responsible for the economic and social crisis. It is strong enough to resolutely oppose the forces that treat that agreement as a springboard for activities directed against the political principles defined in our Constitution, and against the system of the alliances of the Polish People's Republic. However, our party is experiencing the events of the past few months very profoundly and often as an upheaval.

That is why we need to recover from the shock and define the position of party organizations on the issues that concern their sphere of activities. We need sensible and resolute efforts to prevent the processes that introduce anarchy into public life, as is obvious here and there on the local level. We need activities to restore and increase the effectiveness of the functioning of factories and to stimulate people's initiative and inventiveness in searching for ways to overcome economic difficulties. We need to greatly increase the militancy of party organizations and bodies, and of all PZPR members. In a word, what the party needs is consolidation as advocated by the seventh Central Committee plenum.

This is consolidation on the basis of renewal, consolidation that involves party life and more broadly, public life in Poland. That is why it seems necessary to recall that both the need for renewal and its main principles have been shaped to a great extent within the party, and that this renewal needed no encouragement from outside the party and much less from external pressure because it is in fact a result of the process that originated with and developed in the PZPR. The workers protest against deformations of socialist construction in the seventies has greatly accelerated the development of this process and has given it strength.

FOUR VOIVODSHIP COUNCILS HELD 22 DECEMBER

LD230056 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] Sessions of voivodship people's councils were held today in Katowice, Torun, Opole, and Jelenia Gora. In Katowice, the tasks connected with increasing public order and security were discussed. The participants in the session appealed to the Katowice Voivodship for active cooperation in the protection of the socialist legal order, the creation of conditions for a calm implementation of the process of renewal and an honest realization of economic tasks. Andrzej Zabinski, Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Katowice, took part in the session.

During the session in Opole, progress in settling the postulates and proposals raised by industrial works of the region was discussed. During the discussion, the current chairman of the voivodship people's council, the first secretary of the voivodship PZPR committee in Opole, Jozef Masny, asked to be relieved from his post. As new chairman of the voivodship people's council, Mieczyslaw Rzepiela was elected by secret vote.

Preparation of the economic plan for the region and the budget for next year were the topics of the session in Torun.

In Jelenia Gora, the situation in agriculture and the main trends of its development next year were discussed. During the discussion, the current chairman of the voivodship people's council, Stanislaw Ciosek, submitted his resignation from his post in connection with being appointed by the Sejm as member of the Council of Ministers. The councillors elected in a secret vote from among three candidates Julian Jamroz as chairman of the voivodship people's council.

MIJATOVIC TALKS WITH IRAQI MINISTER HAMMADI

LD221852 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1755 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Dr Sa'dun Hammadi, foreign affairs minister of the Republic of Iraq, and had lengthy and friendly talks with him.

Minister Hammadi conveyed friendly greetings from Iraqi President Saddam Husayn which Cvijetin Mijatovic reciprocated on behalf of the SFRY Presidency and on his own behalf.

Dr Sa'dun Hammadi talked about Iraqi views of the present armed conflict with Iran, of the events which preceded it and of the ways which could make it possible to establish peace, including also the involvement of nonaligned countries.

The president of the SFRY Presidency expressed concern about the existing conflict and the grave consequences which affect the two countries and the broader community and pointed out Yugoslavia's well-known attitude which proceeded from the principles of nonalignment and of friendship toward Iraq and Iran. Cvijetin Mijatovic expressed the conviction that the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, no matter how grave it might be, must and could be resolved on the basis of the UN Charter and nonalighment, which implied the halting of the war and the start of a peaceful and just resolution of disputes. This path is in line with the fundamental interests of the two neighbouring countries, of peace and nonalighment.

In the talks, Yugoslavia's and Iraq's desire for the continuous promotion of their friendly relations and bilateral cooperation was expressed.

Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, Faruq 'Abd Sa'id as-Samarra'i, ambassador of the Republic of Iraq to Yugoslavia, and others attended the talks.

KOMUNIST CRITICIZES MARCHAIS STATEMENT ON POLAND

LD221336 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1101 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)--KOMUNIST, the weekly organ of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, in its latest issue describes as "unacceptable" the statement made by Georges Marchais, secretary-general of the French Communist Party, that the Italian communists, with their assessment of events in Poland, "participate in the alarmist campaign of claims that there was a danger of Soviet military intervention".

KOMUNIST writes that in his criticism, Marchais failed to mention those communist parties which not only claim that the "hypothesis of intervention" must be reckoned with, but use it to put pressure to bear on Poland. These communist parties dramatize the situation in Poland, thus advocating a possible foreign intervention.

The weekly notes that "we would be more than reassured if developments in and round Poland proved that Marchais' assessment on the non-existence of the danger of foreign intervention was justified".... "It is up to us, however, to defend the right of every party independently to formulate its policy and stands, i.e., to defend the standard which in the international workers' and communist movement we have, even if only declaratively, accepted as democratic and necessary."

SOVIET NAVY SHIPS ARRIVE ON UNOFFICIAL VISIT

AU212045 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 80 p 8

[Text] A detachment of ships of the USSR navy has sailed into the port of Split, where it will stay for an unofficial visit to our navy. During their visit to Split, members of ships' crews will visit some cultural and historic monuments of the city and its surroundings.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON HODZA VISIT TO GUINEA

AU192220 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 80 p 6

[Text] Conakry, 12 Dec (TANJUG)--The joint communique published at the end of the official friendly visit of Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency, to Guinea points out that President Ahmed Sekou Toure and Fadilj Hodza placed special emphasis on the activities of the nonaligned countries and further affirmation of the nonaligned policy. President Sekou Toure paid deep respect to the memory of President Tito, the great originator and champion of the nonaligned movement.

Vuko Dragasevic, member of the Federal Executive Council, had separate talks with Guinean departmental ministers on the advancement of trade. Dragomir Petrovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Abdoulaye Toure, minister of external affairs of Guinea, had talks on questions connected with the forthcoming conference of the nonaligned countries in New Delhi.

It is also stressed that President Sekou Toure and Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency, in a traditional atmosphere of friendship and cordiality, carried out an extensive exchange of views on the current problems of the international situation, the prospects of the further development of Yugoslav-Guinean cooperation, and the activities of the nonaligned countries.

The communique further says that the two sides agreed to impart a new dimension to the traditional relations of friendship and close cooperation, whose foundations were laid by Presidents Josip Broz Tito and Sekou Toure.

Fadilj Hodza and Sekou Toure expressed their concern at the worsening international situation, which is characterized by the outbreak of fresh hotbeds of crises and an absence of lasting solutions to conflicts. They denounced the use of force in international relations, and pointed out that interference in internal affairs of other countries as well as military interventions endanger peace and security in the world.

The Importance of the New Delhi Gathering

The two sides noted that the contest of the blocs and big powers, as well as the arms race and the spending of tremendous sums for the production of new destructive weapons disturb the process of democratization of international relations and render it more difficult. They expressed their conviction that detente can be real and successful only if it has a universal nature and embraces all regions of the world and all countries.

The two sides expressed the readiness and determination of their countries to make a contribution to better international understanding and relaxation of tension in the world.

The place and role of the nonaligned policy as a political and moral force actively contributing to strengthening the peace and independence of peoples and states, and to establishing new international relations based on the principles of equality and respect for the identity of the partners, was highly appraised. The need was stressed for greater involvement in the struggle against anticolonialism [as published], imperialism, racism and apartheid as well as against all forms of discrimination, hegemonism and foreign domination.

Fadilj Hodza and Sekou Toure especially stressed the need for unity and solidarity of the nonaligned countries and for preserving the authentic principles of nonaligned policy. In this connection they emphasized the importance of the forthcoming ministerial conference in New Delhi, which should contribute to efficient work in the effort to stop the further deterioration of the international situation, and to postively solving disputes among the nonaligned countries. [paragraph continues]

The SFRY and Guinea will strive for the full success of this important meeting, and will closely cooperate in this respect.

The two sides expressed their regret at the deterioration of relations between Iraq and Iran, and their concern over the continued armed actions between these two nonaligned countries, with unforeseeable consequences. In this respect they stressed the importance of the activities by a group of nonaligned countries for creating a favorable climate for a peaceful solution of this conflict on just and lasting foundations.

The adherence of the two countries to the principles and aims of the UN Charter was reaffirmed. It was pointed out that all the UN member countries should contribute to strengthening the role of the world organization in preserving peace and security in the world.

The two sides pointed out that international equilibrium would be ineffectual unless just international economic relations and true solidarity among peoples are established.

Urgent Solutions for Existing Problems

The indispensability of urgently finding solutions for the problems in Africa and Asia--such as the questions of Western Sahara, Afghanistan and Kampuchea--in conformity with the UN Charter and the principles of nonalignment, was stressed. Concern was expressed about the situation in South Africa because of repeated acts of aggression by the racist South African regime.

The two sides reiterated their support for the South West African People's Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the peoples of Namibia.

The two sides again confirmed that a just solution of the Middle East crisis and the establishment of a lasting and stable peace in the region is only possible through unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, recognition of the Palestine people led by the PLO, and their right to self-determination and the creation of a Palestinian Arab state.

The Yugoslav side acquainted the Guinean side with the development of the situation in Europe and especially the efforts made by the neutral and nonaligned countries for the success of the Madrid CSCE meeting.

The Guinean side acquainted the Yugoslav side with the present stage of the national revolution, which is characterized by the dash and enthusiasm of the working masses for strengthening the material base and the strength of the people's power, whose next 5-year plan is another expression of the firm resolution of the Guinean people to fully become masters of their fate.

Fadilj Hodza and Sekou Toure expressed satisfaction with the results of the talks, which once again confirmed the traditional friendship between the two nonaligned countries.

On behalf of the SFRY Presidency, Fadilj Hodza invited President Sekou Toure to make an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia.

The invitation was accepted with pleasure, and the date of the visit will be fixed subsequently, it is said at the end of the communique.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON HODZA VISIT TO GHANA

LD160042 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0952 GMT 15 Dec 80

[Text] Accra, 15 Dec (TANJUG)--Ghana and Yugoslavia note with concern that the international situation is burdened with many political and economic problems, crises and conflicts, and that the contemporary world is passing through one of the most delicate phases in postwar development.

This is stated in the joint communique on the talks which Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY presidency, held in Accra with Dr Hilla Limann, president of the Republic of Ghana, and with other officials.

Fadilj Hodza spent 4 days on an official friendly visit to Ghana. The communique staces that his talks with President Limann took place in an open and friendly atmosphere and that they exchanged broad views on topical international trends. All aspects of cooperation, especially economic cooperation following the recently held meeting of the mixed committee, were also discussed.

As is emphasized in particular in the communique, both sides paid tribute to Josip Broz Tito and Kwame Nkrumah, as well as to other founders of the nonaligned movement. The two sides judged that the use of force, interference in other countries' internal affairs, pressure and intervention are increasingly becoming the practice in international relations and thereby threaten peace and security in the world. They pointed out that relaxation of tension and the peaceful resolution of disputes between states and peoples represent the only alternative in trying to overcome negative tendencies and the sharpening of tension in international relations.

In the talks between Fadilj Hodza and Hilla Limann the two countries confirmed their loyalty to the policy of nonalignment and its original principles which were set out at the Belgrade Conference in 1961 and reaffirmed at later gatherings of nonaligned countries. The two sides emphasized their resolve to continually contribute to the strengthening of the role of the nonaligned movement as an independent, global and nonbloc factor in international political and economic problems and maintaining peace in the world.

Ghana and Yugoslavia attach particular significance to the forthcoming ministerial conference of nonaligned countries in New Delhi at the beginning of February next year, which should contribue to greater unity, solidarity and action capability by the nonaligned movement.

Expressing their concern at armed conflicts, particularly between nonaligned countries, they emphasized the need for nonaligned countries to solve matters of dispute among themselves by peaceful means, by means of politics, in accordance with the UN Charter and the principles of nonalignment. In this context they also discussed the Iraq-Iran conflict. They expressed their regret at this conflict and emphasized that the two sides consider that measures need to be taken which would create the conditions for its resolution by peaceful means, by means of negotiations on the bases of the principles of the UN Charter, the policy of nonalignment, international law and fairness.

The two sides confirmed their loyalty to the principles and aims of the UN Charter and the need to strengthen the role and effectiveness of the United Nations in consolidating peace, security and equitable international cooperation. They emphasized the great significance and role of the OAU in the struggle for the final liberation of Africa from colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination, and for comprehensive sociopolitical and economic development for the African countries. Positive assessments were made of the work and efforts of the OAU in strengthening African unity and in seeking a peaceful resolution to disputes and conflicts which exist between individual African countries.

In the talks special attention was devoted to the problem of southern Africa. The two sides sharply criticized the policy and aggressive acts of the racist regime of South Africa toward its neighboring countries. They gave full support to the struggle of the people of Namibia, under the leadership of the South-West Africa People's Organization as its only legitimate representative, in the struggle for freedom and independence and [word indistinct] of the United Nations in the liquidation of the occupation of Namibia by South Africa.

The need for a peaceful resolution of the problem of the Western Sahara on the basis of the principles of the UN Charter, the OAU and the nonaligned movement was also emphasized, and this assumes the recognition of the right of the people of the Western Sahara to self-determination.

The two sides emphasized the need for a global solution to the Middle East crisis, which assumes the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied territories, including the Arab part of Jerusalem, as well as the recognition of the Palestinian people's right, under the leadership of the PLO, to self-determination, independence and the formation of its own state, as well as the right of all countries of that region to independence and security.

The two sides pointed to all the negative tendencies in the development of the world economy which arise from the crisis in international relations and the increasingly deep gulf between the developed and developing countries. They emphasized that the deepening of the crisis in the world economy and international economic relations, due to the great interdependence of the contemporary world, represents a danger to peace and stability in international relations as a whole.

The two sides confirmed their readiness to make maximum efforts to come to an agreement between the developed and developing countries and to find a solution to the acute economic problems of today. They made a positive assessment of the decision of the Lagos summit on Africa's economic problems, as well as of the orientation toward relying on one's own and collective forces in solving development problems in the African countries.

The Yugoslav side acquainted President Limann with its views on the development of the situation in Europe, in particular with the efforts being made by nonaligned and neutral countries for the success of the Madrid CSCE meeting, which should contribute to further relaxation of tension in Europe and the Mediterranean.

The two sides noted the usefulness of mutual contacts at various levels and concluded that this practice should continue. They expressed a joint interest in, and readiness for, the constant development and strengthening of political, economic, cultural and other aspects of cooperation between the two countries.

Particular attention was devoted to the promotion of economic cooperation between the two countries. In this connection, they agreed to study the possibilities and needs of the two countries so as to place economic relations on firm and lasting bases and to help the realization of agreements reached in Belgrade at the recent session of the mixed Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

Fadilj Hodza thanked President Limann for the hospitality and friendly attention shown to the Yugoslav delegation. President Limann was invited by the SFRY Presidency to visit Yugoslavia, and the invitation was accepted.

Fadilj Hodza also had talks with Ghanaian Vice President Prof J.W.S. de Graft Johnson. Vuko Dragasevic, member of the Federal Executive Council, also had separate talks with Professor Johnson, as well as with Dr. Issac K. Chinebuah, Ghanaian minister of foreign affairs.

MINIC MEETS WITH WALDHEIM IN NEW YORK

LD231028 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1934 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] United Nations, 22 Dec (TANJUG)--President of the Yugoslav Federal Council for International Relations Milos Minic today paid an unofficial visit to U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim. They exchanged views on current international questions.

Minic arrived in New York from Havana where he was member of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee attended the Communist Party of Cuba congress.

MINISTER ROTAR VIEWS FOREIGN TRADE SITUATION

LD222358 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 22 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)--Federal Secretary for Foreign Trade Metod Rotar has described 1980 as marking the start of a positive turn in Yugoslavia's economic relations with other countries.

In an interview with TANJUG staff correspondents Rotar corroborated this statement by saying that the country's balance-of-payments deficit this year will be as planned, about 2 billion dollars, or 1.5 billion dollars less than last year.

This year, Yugoslavia achieved a real, 10 percent increase in its exports, noted Rotar. This was the first such increase after a period of several years.

In Rotar's view, however, there is no reason for self-complacence because the country's adverse trade balance is still high: It will reach about 6 billion dollars by the end of the year.

Speaking of the regional orientation in Yugoslav exports, Rotar described the real lagging in Yugoslav commodity sales in developed Western countries as the biggest problem in this field. The unfavorable balance in Yugoslavia's trade with these countries has only been achieved by a real cutback in imports from the region.

Rotar stated that major results were viewed in Yugoslava's trade with developing countries during 1980. The participation of these countries in Yugoslavia's foreign trade increased from 15 percent in 1979, to 18 percent this year.

The federal secretary for foreign trade next stated that the most important export increases this year were achieved in the manufacturing industries, especially those making consumer goods such as footwear, clothing, furniture and food products.

Yugoslavia's foreign exchange revenues from invisible trade were good this year, Rotar stated. Those from tourism had surpassed the expectations. Yugoslav shipping enterprises had benefited by the favourable conditions for renting ships space and realized good foreign exchange earnings.

Analyzing the foreign exchange revenues from invisible trade, Rotar noted in particular that the remittances from Yugoslav citizens on temporary work abroad were virtually on the same level this year as in 1979 and [word indistinct] after showing certain reserves at the beginning of this year, the owners of foreign exchange deposits in Yugoslav banks behaved towards them with the same confidence as before.

DJURANOVIC COMMENTS ON ADOPTED SOCIAL ACCORDS

LD201231 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2020 GMT 18 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)--Five social agreements on the foundations of Yugoslavia's social plan for 1981-1985 were signed today at the Federation Palace. These agreements, on which accord was reached recently by the Interrepublican Committee for Social Planning and Development, create the conditions for the timely adoption of the new medium-term development plan of the country.

The agreements were signed by the president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and by representatives of the executive councils of the republics and provinces, the Chamber of Economy of Yugoslavia, the trade unions and interest communities.

During the signing of the agreements, Veselin Djuranovic, FED president, stressed that by achieving accord on the agreements on the foundations of the plan, and with its signing and early confirmation by delegate assemblies, a process of exceptional political significance for the country's entire development has been completed. With the signing of the agreements a significant step has been made in the application of the essence of the law on social planning and the process of implementing its orientations in the next period has been set in motion.

The accord on the agreements has been achieved on time, before the adoption of the new medium-term plan. This lends a new quality to all political relations in the country and to the relations between the republics and provinces. Perhaps, Djuranovic added, not all the solutions have been brought to their ultimate conclusion but the agreements represent a firm and good basis on which to achieve solutions in line with our firm orientation toward the stabilization policy and toward the further strengthening of self-managing relations.

The accord on the agreements is a genuine denial of some rumors circulating outside our country, which express doubt about the possibility of reaching agreement on material issues of the country's further development, Djuranovic said. The FEC president expressed his gratitude to all the participants in the work on these agreements and stressed the need to implement them consistently.

As is known, these agreements refer to the directing then trends of social reproduction, the speedier development of the underdeveloped, the economic relations with other countries, the production of arms and military equipment and the development of the Yugoslav People's Army.

FEDERAL ASSEMBLY COMMITTEE APPROVES 1981 BUDGET

LD200934 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 19 Dec 80

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)--The Foreign Affairs Committee of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly, under the chairmanship of Nijaz Dizdarevic, today continued its debate on the proposed federal budget for 1981. The committee especially considered the part of the proposal concerning the financing of Yugoslavia's foreign political activities. After hearing reports by Metod Rotar, federal secretary for foreign trade; Tihomir Kondev, deputy federal secretary for information; Aleksandar Bakocevic, director of TANJUG; Zdravko Pecar, director of Radio-Yugoslavia; and others, the delegates adopted the proposed budget.

The representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Trade informed the committee on the position of bilateral relations with Iraq and Iran. In the discussion, the delegates emphasized the readiness of the SFRY to build relations with these two friendly nonaligned countries.

Yugoslavia's principled stances on this war conflict and its warnings about the consequences for both countries, as well as for peace and stability in the region, and its striving to get the nonaligned movement to help find a peaceful and just solution, represent a constructive contribution to the efforts to end the war and to solve the disputed questions by means of negotiations, as well as to preserve [words indistinct] and nonaligned position of Iraq and Iran.

The committee today also considered several other questions within its competence.

LJUBICIC ADDRESSES FEDERAL CHAMBER ON BUDGET

AU221100 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2160 4 Dec 80 pp 1-3

[Report on speech by Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, at a session of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber in Belgrade on 26 November, discussing the federal draft budget for 1981]

[Text] After having stressed at the beginning that, in discussing the volume of financial funds for the needs of the Yugoslav People's Army in 1981, we are preceeding from the state of relations prevailing in the world and that our society allocates as many resources for defense as economic possibilities allow, the federal secretary said:

"When we speak about the defense preparations of the country and society, we always bear in mind the general political and socioeconomic trends in our country and in the world because the country defends itself by overall stability--political, economic, social and other. It is known that the military-political situation in the world, particularly this year, is so tense that its further developments are completely uncertain and unforeseeable. If the very complex economic conditions in the world are added to this, then the crises besetting the world become even more conspicuous and affect even the most developed countries and, naturally, the developing countries most of all.

In such a complex and very uncertain world situation, the corrosion of and the non-adherence to detente result in a more intensive continuation of the arms race. The proposals to limit the military factor forces and proposals on disarmament are not accepted under various excuses. All this increases the already expressed lack of confidence, pushes mankind to new local wars and new crises, and evokes a greater uncertainty as regards the future.

"The earlier and latest events in the Middle East, where the war goes on with unabated vigor, confirm that the international situation is becoming increasingly more complex. This provokes further rivalry on the world level, with the result being the creation and perfection of conventional arms, as well as the invention of new nuclear means with the wish to undermine the present equilibrium to one's own benefit.

"The intensive armament of the superpowers particularly reflects on the state of the military factor in Europe. As is well known, a nuclear arms race has recently been provoked in Europe, irrespective of the fact that the two sides already possess great arsenals of these arms. The problem of "Euromissiles" has been raised, which has caused a very dangerous race in the development of new offensive combat means, either the cruise missile or the neutron missile systems, to continue in this field. Along with developing new systems and perfecting existing offensive systems (missiles, aircraft, submarines), considerable attention is being paid to finding suitable solutions for protecting these systems (underground shelters, dispersion, mobile launching pads and other things).

"The military-economic form of competition in the world causes a constant increase in armed forces budgets. NATO-developed countries increase their budget on the average by 3 percent of real value every year. However, in nominal value the budget of the NATO armed forces increased 12 percent in 1980 compared with 1979. At the same time, according to Western sources, the military expenditures of the Warsaw Pact increased on the average 6.1 percent in 1980, compared with 1979. It is necessary to stress that of the overall world military expenditures for armed forces, some 74 percent goes for the bloc armed forces (NATO 39.7 percent and the Warsaw Pact 34 percent)."

World Spends Over $500 Billion for Military Activities

"Regardless of the need for economies stressed by both sides, the NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries that participated in exercises and maneuvers were some 20 percent stronger this year than last, and this is connected with the current situation in certain regions (the Middle East and other regions). Through exercises and other military procedures, the armies of certain countries are approaching the hotbeds of crisis, either as a factor of competition and pressure, or to test the concept of their use.

"Over $500 billion are spent annually in the world for military activities, which is about $1 million per minute for $100 per every inhabitant of the earth. Two-fifths of all research in the world serves military purposes.

"This policy in the world reflects negatively on limiting the military factor and on disarmament (CSCE, MBFR), despite certain attempts of the great powers, which are most responsible for the development of international relations, to maintain contacts and a mutual dialogue. However, as is well-known, if the talks are approached from the positions of force and on the basis of bilateralism, then there will be no great benefit, nor great results from a detente established in this way.

"The result of the established equilibrium and the possession of very destructive combat means by both sides is that a direct confrontation between the great powers is being avoided, but that various pressures in the zones in which interests have not been defined are being exerted on small countries, a psychological-propaganda activity is being waged against them, as well as various forms of local armed aggression.

"In this complex and uncertain situation it is essential for the nonaligned movement to continue with even greater activity and preventive measures to frustrate in good time crises and armed aggression and to work on their settlement so that peace and equal treatment of all peoples and countries in the world can be ensured. Stable relations within the nonaligned movement narrow the scope and foil the possibility of realizing the objectives of those forces which aspire to capture positions. It can rightly be said that since the end of World War Two the world has never stood so close to war and to a new world cataclysm as is the case today.

"The arms race and the competition for better strategic positions in Europe are also very much apparent in the wider and the narrower areas in which our country is situated. In the countries and waters of Europe strong forces of the two leading powers are present, a third of which is deployed in the least stable area--the south European battlefield and the Mediterranean. Both military blocs are working at an accelerated pace to strengthen their positions in southeast Europe. All countries in this area are gradually strengthening their armed forces, carrying out large or small exercises and have ready military contingents.

"The race for nuclear primacy in Europe continues and is bringing these means closer to our area. The installment of new missile systems on one side cannot remain without a reponse on the other. As is known, in Europe stationary and cruise missiles will be installed in the FRG, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands by 1983. We must not close our eyes to these facts because significant consequences for our security in general result from them.

"The progressive countries, particularly the nonaligned world, have made great efforts in struggling to preserve peace and ensure equal cooperation on the basis of active and peaceful coexistence. Now their activity is more required than ever before. As the initiator and promoter of all actions in the struggle for peace, Yugoslavia is trying to pursue such a policy."

We Do Not Threaten Anybody by Strenthening Our Defense Capabilities

"However, the situation in the Balkans in general, and around our country in particular, does not depend solely on Yugoslav wishes and desires, but on the development and configuration of international relations which are changing very quickly, while crises situations move from one world area to another. In view of the importance of the Balkans, and especially of the area around Yugoslavia, for overall international relations, it is well known that our combat readiness and our economic and general social development are being monitored. This is why the Yugoslav state and political leadership is constantly strengthening their defense capability along with the resolve to preserve national security and their state sovereignty. The basic orientation of our defense policy is to strengthen the country's defense capability. We do not threaten anyone, but wish to have the best possible relations with all countries, big and small. However, I must say with regret that not everyone in the world accepts this peace-loving policy.

"Accordingly, in the conditions of such an unstable international situation, fraught with oppositions, confrontation and rivalry in the key points--the Middle East, the Far East, certain areas of Africa and Latin America--a constant danger exists for peace and for a return of the remnants of the cold war that are well known to us.

"It is particularly necessary to stress that such political relations in the world and the concentration of the production power in the developed countries lead to an increased capital investment and a transfer of technology to the underdeveloped and the developing countries under very unfavorable conditions, resulting thereby in very gross forms of exploitation of the developing countries and their technological dependence. All this will further widen the gap between the increase in production capability, on the one side, and the increase in poverty, on the other, and will lead to instability in overall world relations and to the aspiration of the developed countries to retain the wealth in their hands, through various forms of economic domination over energy resources, strategic raw materials, food and other things, and to worsen the poverty in a large number of undeveloped countries."

Army Members Support and Implement the Economic Stabilization Policy

"When the allocation of the funds for defense needs is involved, our strategic orientation has always been that in building and preparing the armed forces we always proceed from the real needs to keep the army's capability for successfully waging an all-people's defensive war on the level of demands resulting from the political relations in the contemporary world and from our country's economic possibilities. In this connection, I can stress that members of the Yugoslav People's Army fully support and, in practice with the greatest possible attention, implement the measures of the economic stabilization policy. Planned economies are one kind of our contribution to this policy, and we have applied planned economies for a number of years and have achieved important material results. The other kind are rational and economic operations, which must be and are our regular practice. The measures of the economic stabilization policy have brought them about even more. Together with all other working people and citizens, members of the army are accordingly prepared, as in the past, to carry the burden of economic stabilization, thus to make it easier to overcome difficulties that are appearing in our socioeconomic development.

"As I have already said, we are vigilantly following all developments in the field of military-political relations and what importance and role is given to the military factor in realizing the political strategy of those forces which strive toward conquests. All armies of the world are working to improve their firing and striking power and to increase their maneuvering capability, as well as to strengthen their antiarmor and antiaircraft defense and the defense against airborne attacks. This means they are perfecting their combat readiness and strengthening the capability of their units and the protection of their territory."

We Must Not Lag in Equipping Our Units

"In this tense international situation we must not lag in providing the combat and technical equipment for and in training our units, because this is a guarantee for a secure peace on our borders, and without peace there can be no freedom and peaceful socialist building.

"In view of all this and of the requirements regarding the implementation of the economic stabilization policy, we envisage that we will reduce all kinds of expenditures in the Yugoslav People's Army in 1980 and bring them into line with the material possibilities and economic trends in our society and, as far as possible, ensure further modernization of our armed forces.

"In this respect we will do everything necessary to fulfill the main plan tasks envisaged for next year and based on the adopted projection of the development of the Yugoslav People's Army in the 1981-1985 period, particularly since the funds to finance the Yugoslav People's Army during the past 4 years of the medium-term plan were not provided on the basis of a realistic assessment of the national income, because of the difficulties in balancing the budget of the federation. Besides, price increases (of armaments and military equipment) were not accompanied by increased resources to finance the Yugoslav People's Army, and lower resources were secured while the commitments toward the Yugoslav People's Army were deferred. During the 1976-1979 period alone over 38 billion new dinars less than required were secured while in the world the money set aside to strengthen the armed forces grew at the annual rate of 13 percent. The fact that the cost of armaments is growing more and more every day must be added to everything I have said before. Thus, for instance, in the 1976-1980 period the price of tank increased 204.21 percent, an aircraft 230.49 percent, a helicopter 259.03 percent, a howitzer 135.45 percent, a cross-country truck 238.87 percent and so forth. From these data it can be seen that the prices of certain means of armament increased over 250 index points.

"The pressures on prices in 1980 and their trends on domestic and foreign markets, particularly the great increase in the prices of producer goods, are the reason the number of requests by the producers of armaments and military equipment in the country for an increase in prices, ranging between 15 and 57 percent, has increased.

"Also in other fields, such as food, heating, training (particularly where large quantities of fuel are needed, as for instance in the air force), maintenance of technology, clothing and other things, there has been a more rapid increase in prices than was calculated when the funds to finance the Yugoslav People's Army in preparing the 1980 plans were fixed.

"The change in the dinar exchange rate caused the planned purchases abroad to increase in dinars by 43 percent, and the overall real purchasing power of armaments, also including the purchases in the country, to be reduced on average by 13.27 percent. This was caused by the relationship between imports and production in the country."

Had There Been No Economizing We Would Have Lagged in Modernization

"Naturally, the result of all this was that it was impossible to realize a number of technical modernization programs, infrastructure projects, needs for training and education, maintenance and overhaul of armaments and military equipment and other things. I must also stress that the lag in modernizing the Yugoslav People's Army would be greater had we not achieved certain results through economizing measures and with a well-elaborated strategy in this field, as well as in our orientations. I will mention only a few:

Contracts for and construction of new and adaptation of existing infrastructure projects were forbidden, whereby construction was reduced on 112 projects, with the exception of the works having some significance on our combat readiness; fuel consumption in the current year has been reduced by about 20 percent; personal incomes in the Yugoslav People's Army this year did not keep abreast with the increases in the cost of living, which should be put right; in the technical services measures were taken to extend the life of some equipment through overhauls, to use old parts of armament and equipment, and to perfect the technology of ammunition to choose more favorable offers and so forth. In transportation services the purchase of the means of transportation has also been rationalized; domestic passenger vehicles are primarily used; the lifespan of some transport means is being extended; the purchase of some office equipment is being put off; and driver training for men who have a driving licence is being reduced. In the medical services the use of nondurable medical equipment is being cut down; in the supply services we have taken measures to economize on food in a way that we replace expensive food with a cheaper variety, we purchase and store certain items and producer goods in good time; in the organization of territory [uredjenje teritorije] we also envisage considerable savings and so forth.

"Comrades,"

Rely Exclusively on Our Own Forces

"The policy of most countries seeks a support either in creating the best possible relations with a protector--usually this is one of the great powers--or in an accelerated development of one's armed forces. However, most frequently the tendency is to go in both directions. We in Yugoslavia--as a whole, also when our defense is involved--rely exclusively on our forces and on our own resources because we do not seek the guarantee for our freedom and independence in anyone's protection. This expresses our effort to preserve our sovereignty and state integrity and to strengthen even more our independent position. Accordingly, in protecting these lofty values of our society we must be sufficiently strong and combat ready to repel and break anyone who might cross our borders and try to threaten our freedom.

"I think that in preparing our country for defense--guided by the thoughts, ideas and deeds of Comrade Tito and by the decisions of the party and state leadership--as a whole, and despite objective difficulties, we have made a visible leap forward and attained a high level of organization and readiness so much so that even the most complex situation cannot place us in an inferior position. In explaining the request for the allocation of financial resources for the requirements of the Yugoslav People's Army in 1981, permit me therefore to set forth also some data about what we have attained in this area in 1980.

"A significant pace of modernization of our armed forces has been attained this year. A great number of the basic means and systems of armament and of military equipment has entered the combat complement of our units and has made a considerable contribution to and increase in the efficiency of our armor and air defense, infantry fire and fire support, increased mobility of our units, coastal defenses and sea warfare, protection of our airspace, modernization of the communications system and command, and so forth. A considerable portion of these means has been created through increased reliance on our own science and domestic industry, constituting a further step in our technical modernization and consolidation of our country's combat readiness and preparedness for defense. However, the physical volume of technical modernization requires considerable financial resources. For this reason we will take all the measures so that we can ensure the continuity of technical modernization, by bringing down other aspects of expenditures.

"Within the overall structure we are planning that the share of the resources for technical modernization of our armed forces in 1981 should be higher in percentage than ever before.

"As is known, our armed forces are only one part of our all-people's defense system; admittedly, the most important one, but they can only fulfill their tasks by maintaining constant links with our people and by relying on all the sections of our society. This is why we also paid attention to the defense preparations of all factors of our community, and I can inform you that, as the result of various exercises, we have noted a satisfactory preparedness both of sociopolitical communities and work organizations, social organizations and all other social structures. All these are important factors upon whose work the implementation of combat tasks and the waging of war in general depends to a great extent.

"The concept of all-people's defense calls for the activation of the entire population for the country's defense, and our social relations really make this possible. We have set our defense concept in such a way that within a very brief period of time we can include all our citizens into armed units. However, one must bear in mind that the war preparations of the armed forces and all the population require the top training of both officers and commands, as well as units, along with ensuring material preconditions so that the country's overall potential can be included in offering resistance and in defeating the aggressor. All this requires that we invest extraordinarily great efforts in training the armed forces and people, and this training must also be materially covered."

Personal Incomes Did Not Follow Increase in Prices

"Beginning with 1981, in relation to the current medium-term plan, we will invest considerable resources in armament and military equipment, an increase of 5.77 percent, while the investments in the plants producing combat technology will increase 3.61 percent. I have already said that the personal incomes of active military persons and civilians serving in the Yugoslav People's Army did not keep in step with the increase in prices, something we must correct in next year's plan. In addition to the expenditures for modernizing and equipping the Yugoslav People's Army, we must also count on greater expenditures for food, clothing, medical treatment, accommodations and overhaul, education and other things. We can partially make up a part of the increased expenditures for these needs by reducing the volume of construction activity by 5.5 percent. However, it is indispensable to maintain certain reserves of ammunition, food, fuel, producer goods and other things, particularly if one adds to this that the Yugoslav People's Army surrenders a part of armament, ammunition and other means to Territorial Defense.

"On this occasion, I must stress that, together with the working people and citizens of our country, members of the Yugoslav People's Army have achieved this year, as well as during past years, noticeable results in all fields of building our self-managing socialist community and that they have always been prepared at any moment to work and extend assistance to the population in the case of floods, fires, earthquakes and the like. It can justifiably be said that in our country there was no political or economic activity in which soldiers, officers and civilians serving in the Yugoslav People's Army did not actively participate. The engineer units, for instance, together with members of other branches and services of our armed forces, this year built and reconstructed nearly 400 kilometers of roads."

Armaments From Our Domestic Production

"The military-economic relations and the scientific-technical cooperation with foreign countries are developing in accordance with the principles of our foreign policy and have a very significant place in strengthening our country's role in the world. In 1980, we have had such relations and cooperation with some 60 countries, with a constant upward trend of development and advancement, particularly with the nonaligned countries and the developing countries.

"The construction of plants for producing armaments and military equipment and of other projects, education and training of military cadres, joint research and development and the transfer of up-to-date technology in production and in applying military technology are increasingly more important kinds of activities in military-economic cooperation.

"To ensure the indispensable necessary number of complex means of armament and military equipment and to increase the level of combat readiness of the country's armed forces, we will invest significant resources both in research and development, as well as in reconstructing and modernizing certain plants for the development of production of armaments and military equipment. These investments should ensure an up-to-date technical-technological level of these plants for an up-to-date and economic domestic production of armaments and military equipment.

"Although the reconstruction and modernization of plants that produce armaments and military equipment has not yet ended and while the organization of production operations of the constructed plants has not yet been completed, we already can reliably stress the results and positive tendencies in realizing the investments envisaged by the plan. With our domestic production we are completely satisfying our demand for the basic and the most used kinds of armaments and ammunitions such as rifles, artillery and rockets with appropriate ammunition, combat and noncombat vehicles, aircraft with aircraft equipment, modern combat vessels, complex electronic equipment and systems and a number of other weaponry and military equipment which are important for the all-people's defense. Efforts are being made to master the manufacture of domestically produced jet engines, most up-to-date combat vehicles, longer range multipurpose rocket systems, most up-to-date combat vessels and other things."

Investments Are Manifoldly Repaid to the Social Community

"Despite the fact that fresh investments are required, we expect that the realization of these complex systems and means of armament and military equipment, will provide a multiple return to our social community and have a spin-off effect on the development of other branches of our economy which make a single entity together with our domestic armaments industry. In drafting the medium-term plan of development for the 1981-1985 period, an attempt is being made to secure an even greater integration between the armament manufacture and military equipment capacities and the development plans of other branches of our economy. We are trying to use the appropriate agreements with the responsible organs in the republics and autonomous provinces and self-management linkages and agreements between organizations of associated labor which manufacture armaments and military equipment and other means required for this production to secure an appropriate material basis for the stable domestic manufacture of armaments and military equipment.

"The share of the Yugoslav People's Army in the overall foreign trade exchange of our country during the past few years has attained a very high percentage which is of very great importance for our foreign exchange balance of payments.

"The military-economic cooperation has a particularly important place in our relations with the nonaligned and developing countries. In terms of volume it surpasses one quarter of the total Yugoslav exports to these countries which is in keeping with our policy of development and cooperation with foreign countries.

"Next year, scientific research will be directed toward further elaboration of conceptual and doctrinaire positions on the overall defense preparations of the country and the study of modern solutions in the leadership and command field and in the organization development of the armed forces. Special attention will be devoted to developing the combat systems which most suit the demands and needs of our concept and strategy of armed struggle. [paragraph continues]

A large part of this work will be done in military institutions, but a part of the tasks will also be transferred to civilian scientific organizations and certain organizations in the armaments industry which are prepared for this or which can be prepared for this work with small investments and other efforts.

"Scientific-technical cooperation with foreign countries is also becoming more important. Broad cooperation in research, the development and production of modern armaments and military equipment has been established with 14 countries and is developing."

There Are Forces Whom Such a Yugoslavia Does Not Suit

"In my speech I have indicated only the basic components and vital orientations of our policy of budgeting for the Yugoslav People's Army in 1981.

"I wish to recall again that over $500 billion are spent on armaments in the world. We must not close our eyes to this, since the consequences of neglecting our armaments could be very dangerous. We believe that it continues to be extremely important that the necessary financial resources are allocated for defense, considering this instability in the world and the uncertain development of the military situation in general as reflected in the Balkans region and the region around Yugoslavia. Forces still exist in the world who do not like such a Yugoslavia and who work at undermining its firmness and existence. Therefore, we must strive to continue to develop the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection and in this connection that we strengthen our armed forces and enhance their combat ability.

"On the basis of the foregoing, we propose that funds amounting to 5.80 percent of the national income be provided in the federal budget to finance the requirements of the Yugoslav People's Army in 1981. The funds reduced in this way in relation to the actual needs will demand additional efforts and various measures to implement the set tasks, ensure the realization of the most important programs of development, modernization of the armed forces and prevent a further fall in the standard of living of the personnel in the Yugoslav People's Army.

"We are aware of our economic situation and we know that we must all make efforts to create a strong and stable economy, for only such an economy can ensure a strong and stable defense and strengthen the unity of our peoples as a condition of our independence. In this respect the following words by Comrade Tito must always be present: 'The danger will be much less only if we ensure a morally-politically strong LCY, a ramified and well organized system of defense, a firm and morally-politically united army and armed forces in general, and a firm situation in our sociopolitical communities.' We shall strive to implement this warning by Comrade Tito in the most consistent way possible, as we have been doing so far."

In concluding his speech, the federal secretary for national defense said that the moral-political unity of the army personnel is firm and stable. It is at a level which guarantees that the army will successfully carry out all its tasks in the system of all-people's defense and the building of society, fulfilling in this way its obligation toward our society and its pledge that we shall continue with building our defense and self-protection system in the way outlined by Comrade Tito. In other words this means that Yugoslavia will continue to strive consistently for a policy of nonalignment as a condition for preserving peace and that it will be both more ready and more able to protect its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.